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## AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The attempt on the part of the Government to supply the British emancipated colonies with any considerable body of African emigrants, by honourable means, we always predicted would be a failure. We grounded our opinion on official information laid before Committees of the House of Commons, and official reports directly made to Government on the subject. Private information corroborated that opinion. We took exception to it on many grounds, but, chiefly, because we felt convinced that free emigrants, other than from British settlements, could not be obtained; and, secondly, that it would afford a pernicious example to other nations, such as Spain and Brazil, to supply themselves with nominally free, but really enslaved, Africans, and thus perpetuate both slavery and the slave-trade under new forms, which could not be controlled by existing treaties. In the vain attempt, which has recently been made by Government, to supply Africans to the West Indies, the expense will fall on this country. It is a remarkable fact that Lord Grey, whose constitutional education, we should have thought, would have taught him another lesson, feels no difficulty whatever in putting his hands into the British treasury to meet colonial defalcations, or to advance the special interests of a particular class, at the general expense. Whether these things fall within his lordship's category of "free-trade," we know not; but this we know, that it has become of late years a practice, whenever a colonial secretary wishes to carry out a favourite scheme in the colonies, or to remedy the effects of previous bad management, and cannot obtain the means from local taxes, he brings the home treasury under obligations, and appropriates public monies to private purposes. Lord Stanley and Lord Grey are notable examples of this. But to return: the failure of two expeditions to the Kroo coast must convince, we should think, the most credulous, that a supply of free labourers cannot be obtained there. In transmitting a copy of the following report to the Governor of Jamaica, Lord Grey says:—"This account, I regret to say, holds out little prospect of success in obtaining emigrants for the West Indies, either from the settled population of Sierra Leone, or from the inhabitants of the Kroo coast."

The report, drawn up by Mr. Hamilton, the naval officer employed in the African transport, *Bangalore*, will be found to contain much interesting information respecting Sierra Leone and the present state of its population, which will be read with interest by our friends. The *Bangalore* sailed from the Downs on the 16th February, reached the Gambia on the 18th March, and Sierra Leone on the 23rd March, 1848.

## SIERRA LEONE AND ITS POPULATION.

"On landing at Freetown, I was much struck with the improved appearance of the place; the number of stone houses in the business part of the town has increased; some of them of considerable magnitude, and of somewhat pleasing exterior. I was courteously and kindly received by his Excellency the Governor, and having reported the ship's arrival for the purpose of conveying emigrants to Trinidad, received his Excellency's permission to seek for emigrants in any part of the colony in which I thought I might be successful. On Thursday, 24th March, took up my quarters on shore, for the greater facility of communicating with the people, and of ascertaining their views and ideas of emigration to the West Indies.

"I met several individuals to whom I was personally known, and some who had been to the West Indies. When asking these latter persons why they did not return to Jamaica, Demerara, or Trinidad, since they spoke so highly of those countries, they generally replied by the indefinite word 'nothing'; adding, they 'liked Sierra Leone.' In some instances parties

replied, their wives were unwilling to accompany them, or that they had friends and relatives whom they were unwilling to leave; some, that they had made sufficient money. *But the women almost always urged the objection of working in the cane-fields.* I heard no case of dissatisfaction at the wages; but it was observed, that it cost a great portion of those wages to procure the necessaries of life. This objection was made by some mechanics. The people invariably spoke well of the West Indies, but never failed to add the necessity persons were under in those countries of working for their livelihood; in short, there is a manifest difference between Sierra Leone and the 'new country,' as they designate the West Indies, and the Africans have not been slow to observe that difference. In Sierra Leone subsistence is an affair not only of secondary consideration, but of no consideration at all. Cassada and cocoas are to be had, *ad libitum*, from the farms. Yams, Indian corn, plantains, and bananas, are raised with little trouble upon their allotments, and to the village inhabitants the palm tree is more accessible for oil and wine. To add to these facilities, the cultivation requisite for any of these productions is of the most trifling nature; some, in fact, once put in the earth, yield their increase without further care on the part of the African, while the land, the source of their wealth, is taken possession of when and almost where they please.

"In the West Indies, on the other hand, *although wages are high, the price of provisions consumes the greater portion of those wages; and, although the people have provision grounds allotted to them, those provision grounds must be cultivated—an occupation the labourers are little disposed to attend to, after the fatigues of the cane-field; add to which, the women, who have little to attend to in Sierra Leone, are called upon to assist in the labour of the cane-fields.* Labour is not only of paramount importance in the West Indies, but is one of the obligations attaching to residence upon the estates, and is imperatively necessary to avoid distress. The question is not simply whether the African emigrant will labour, and enrich himself by his industry, but whether he will make any degree of exertion, or subject himself to difficulty of living; *in fact, whether he will exchange his situation of ease and independence, in Sierra Leone, for one of necessity to labour in the West Indies.*

"Whatever may be the cause, it appears the resident population will not leave Sierra Leone in any great numbers; the only source from which emigrants are now obtained from that colony, being from the captured negroes' yard; and this resource failing, from the numbers carried away by vessels which had arrived before the *Bangalore*, that vessel was under the necessity of proceeding to the Kroo coast, in order to try the resources of that country.

"During my stay at Freetown, I traversed the greater part of it, as well to endeavour to obtain emigrants as to compare its present with its former condition, in order to ascertain if any change of circumstances had occasioned a change in the people's opinions on the subject of emigration. *It may be confidently asserted that the labouring population of Freetown are as well dressed as the labouring population of almost any country, and contrasts greatly and satisfactorily with the half-naked and ragged appearance of the people when I first went to the colony, in 1833, as well as in 1841.*

"The number of churches erected, and in the course of erection, show that there is no want of funds for this purpose, and large contributions are raised amongst the African population for religious instruction. Towards the Race-course, in the East, the Church Missionary Society have erected a college, (I believe this is its high-sounding designation,) a large handsome building, which would do credit to some of our provincial towns; while the Wesleyans have displayed no less zeal and activity by their establishment at King Tom's Point, in the West."

## RATE OF WAGES.

"Another great alteration presents itself, which has been brought about since the commencement of emigration from the colony. In the early part of the year 1841, when I visited the colony for the purpose of seeking for emigrants, and for many years previous, the ordinary rate of wages was 4d. *per diem* for liberated Africans, and 6d. for Kroomen, and it was impossible to find employment for the people even at these wages. Now

the liberated Africans receive 6d. *per diem*, and the Kroomen, 9d., with an allowance of rice. At these wages, Europeans complain of the difficulty of procuring labourers, and are under the necessity of giving 1s. a day, where the employment is not likely to be of any duration. Men and boys are to be found about the landing-place looking for jobs, which they chargehandsomely for, compared with the former period, and shore-boats are at command to put the stranger on board his ship. The price of provisions, however, is double what it was, with the exception of beef and mutton; that of the former is somewhat less."

#### CULTIVATION AND COMMERCE.

"Again, the whole face of the mountains from Wilberforce, on entering the harbour, to Waterloo, up the River Sierra Leone, presents an appearance of having been broken up, and put in a state of plantation; but, at the distance from which I observed this alteration, it would be difficult to say what is the cultivation. I should imagine from the high price of rice, 10s. a bushel, or £20 per ton, that cassada would be the principal produce.

"A new trade has sprung up in the cultivation and export of ground nuts; but the quantity of this article, actually raised in the colony, is small compared with what is shipped from the neighbouring rivers. To judge from the list of arrivals and departures, the number of foreign vessels visiting the port must have increased; a greater degree of activity prevails about the wharf, and the coasting trade of the colony now boasts of the employment of a steam vessel.

"Notwithstanding these manifest improvements, the masses, I mean the great body, of the liberated African population of Freetown, remain in much the same condition; neither the exterior of their huts nor their allotments present any improvement in appearance, nor should I say there has been any great alteration in the population in point of numbers; thousands may yet be removed with advantage to themselves, to the persons they leave behind, and to the colonies to which they may be sent; while the colony is further benefited by the withdrawal of the newly-captured Africans, with all their ignorance and brutality; and by the transportation of the captive children to the West Indies these children are relieved from the painful position of being apprenticed to the African, little, if anything, less brutal and ignorant than themselves; while they are relieved from being the hewers of wood and drawers of water to the recently emancipated, they are placed in the improving situation of labourers in the West Indies."

#### EMIGRANTS FOR THE WEST INDIES NOT TO BE OBTAINED AT SIERRA LEONE.

"Seeing very little prospect of obtaining emigrants in Freetown, I made preparations for a trip to Waterloo, in the second eastern district, where I had been stationed during my residence in the colony in 1836.

"Left Freetown, on Monday, 27th March, for Waterloo, which village I reached after pulling and sailing for about four hours. Here, again, I was met by several persons, to whom I was personally known. There was little interest shown about emigration to the West Indies, to which place I offered the people a free passage. In the afternoon, I walked towards one extremity of my former station, and on the following morning towards the other. To my invitations to go to Trinidad I received the same answer.—That the people 'had plenty of foo-foo, with which to fill themselves; that 'they were used to Sierra Leone,' and that they would 'be strangers in the new country.' Those who had been to Trinidad, Demerara, or Berbice, admitted these to be fine countries, and that, if a man would work, he would make plenty of money. *The women adverted to working in the cane-fields.*

"On reaching the landing-place at the head of the creek, which takes its name from the village, I observed several canoes, about twelve or fifteen in number, while it was a rare occurrence to see two or three at the same time when the village was under my management in 1836; some of these were laden with yams, cassada, foo-foo, and Bamboo thatch, and were going to Freetown with their freights. Waterloo was always a favoured village, and the inhabitants earned a little money by making thatch and basket-work, which they sold in Freetown, but I never witnessed so much activity during the period of my former acquaintance with the place. The village is capable of being made to have a neat appearance, and it certainly looks as well now as ever it did during my knowledge of it. It was here the model farm was tried, in the hope of creating emulation in tropical agriculture amongst the liberated Africans. A large stone building has been erected in the village by the Church Missionary Society, which answers the double purpose of a place of public worship and a school, and at a little distance is a neat parsonage-house; the premises and grounds are well kept. There is another stone church near the head of the creek, built by the Dissenters, of which Elliot, the pilot and preacher, is principal. The Government grounds have experienced their share of improvement, and are planted with several fruit trees. With these exceptions, I observe no improvements in the district. To judge from the new and extensive locations, the population must have increased. The number of inhabitants in the village and its hamlets, when I left it, amounted to 3,088; I should imagine it now to be near 5,000.

"The dress of the people continues much the same, very much below the standard of Freetown; the children of both sexes playing about the streets in a perfect state of nudity. The market continues to be held under the same grass-shed, and from the treasures displayed, I should imagine the purchases cannot be very extensive.

"The people's huts present no new feature; and as the present visit is made at the end of the dry season, no fair opinion can be formed of the state of their allotments.

"Experiencing so little encouragement, I left Waterloo on Tuesday, 28th March, and on reaching the *Bangalore*, found the accompanying letter from the emigration agent, recommending that the ship should proceed to the Kroo coast without delay to look for emigrants.

"On Wednesday, 29th March, visited the villages of Kissy and Wellington, the former distant about three, and the latter, five miles from Freetown. I could scarcely expect to obtain emigrants from this quarter, as my familiarity with the places only arose from the circumstance of having frequently ridden through them when proceeding to Waterloo during my residence in the colony. *The only novelty or peculiarity which attracted my attention, was the immense increase in the number of the mango trees. This fruit, as well as the Avocado pear, was extremely rare, six years ago: but the former is to be found now in almost every allotment on the main road near Wellington.*"

#### VOYAGE TO THE KROO COAST.

"On Thursday, 30th March, embarked for the Kroo coast, and sailed on Friday morning, 31st March, at daylight. Experienced light airs. On Wednesday, 5th April, stood into Piccaninny Bassa, and at eight p.m. anchored off Bassa Kroo. On Thursday, 6th April, sailed at daylight. Several canoes came on board when passing Grand Bassa, and two Kroo boys offered themselves as emigrants. On Friday, 7th April, passed close off Blueberry, where we were visited by several canoes, and at eight p.m. anchored off Settra Kroo.

"On Sunday, 9th April, the surf was very high, the wind having set in from the southward and westward during the night; the sea was breaking right across the entrance into Settra Kroo, so much so, that it was not considered safe to beach a boat, more especially as we were not aware of the proper channel. The canoes, however, came on board, but reported that the surf was high, and recommended that we should remain until noon, when the tide would be at the flood. At two p.m. landed, after shipping two or three seas. Jack Purser, the sub-agent, sent to say that the sea was too high for him to come on board, but that he would do so when it subsided.

"On landing at Settra Kroo, found the agent, James Sawyer, had left for Sierra Leone; no emigrants ready for the ship; and was informed by 'Jack Purser,' the resident sub-agent, that there was no probability of obtaining any. Sent word to the king of Settra Kroo, to say, that I wished to communicate with him on the subject of emigration, and that I would meet him and the headmen on the following morning. In the meantime, I walked about the town, examining if there was anything worthy of notice in it, its population, cultivation, and arrangement; at the same time, offering a free passage to such persons as I thought desirable or likely to avail themselves of the opportunity. The town or village is overrun with bush from four to five feet in height, and presents no appearance of being much indebted to the hand of Kroomen, for its fertilization. The huts, on the other hand, show some ingenuity in their construction. They are raised about three feet above the ground, and the flooring is of a species of bamboo or cane matwork. Ingress and egress are by means of an aperture about the size of a small window, and upon all-fours, or by crawling upon hands and knees. Cooking is carried on within the hut; and in several instances, I saw a large brass or copper vessel upon the fire, for the preparation of palm oil or butter, as far as I could understand."

#### PAUCITY OF POPULATION.

"I made three attempts to ascertain the number of huts in the town, and did not arrive at any result beyond 120; but in traversing it, I observed some amongst the trees and bushes, which would doubtless have escaped my observation. Our sub-agent enumerated every individual possessing huts in the place, and estimated them at 155. I should imagine this to be not far from the truth.

"With regard to the population, there are no data by which I could form an estimate with any degree of accuracy; but it was observed by the party on shore, that if all the male adults whom we saw had offered themselves as emigrants, we should not have succeeded in getting a complement for the *Bangalore*—221 statute emigrants. On observing this to the sub-agent, we were told, that very many of the people were out at the plantations, from three to ten miles from the town; but this is only of a piece with all that was experienced while coming along the coast. We were led on from one place to another with perpetual promises and expectations which were never to be realised. It is generally understood that polygamy prevails amongst the Kroomen. That they avail themselves of the privilege, and that they have a fair proportion of children, are abundantly evident. The few huts we looked into were well stocked with women and children."

## OBJECTIONS TO EMIGRATION.

"At Settra Kroo it was made a decided objection to any further emigration, that none of the people who had gone to the West Indies had returned to give information on the subject, although a distinct promise had been made to that effect, that the king's son and Jack Purser's likewise should be brought back in the course of a few months for that purpose. They have now been away some years."

"Monday, 10th April.—Held a palaver with the king and seven of the leading men, when the above objection was so forcibly urged that it was resolved to proceed to Neffou, where it was known her Majesty's steam vessel, *Growler*, had landed several Kroomen from the West Indies, and where we were given to understand there were many of the people desirous of emigrating."

## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

"Tuesday, 11th April.—Sailed for Neffou, and on Wednesday, 12th, communicated with a schooner with 275 captives, prize to her Majesty's steamer, *Firefly*. The schooner had been captured off Kabenda, three weeks previous, and had lost twenty-five captives by death."

## THE SUB-AGENT OF EMIGRATION.

"Passed King Will's Town, about eight miles off shore. 'Purser,' the resident sub-agent, came on board. This worthy personage, on reaching the ship, stood for some time upon the accommodation or external ladder, where he girded his loins with a yard of cloth, and covered his head with a monkey's skin. Thus ornamented he came on board, and demanded his wages and his 'dash.' On being asked 'if he had any emigrants,' he coolly replied, 'he had not,' and appeared to think he had done quite enough by coming on board for his wages. He was told to go on shore, and to bring on board fifty emigrants with him when the ship anchored at Neffou, and that he should then receive his wages. It is unnecessary to add, this sub-agent never again made his appearance.

"The wind being light, did not reach Neffou until the afternoon, when the ship was anchored about five miles from the shore. Landed at Little Neffou on the same day, and held a palaver with Prince Will and his people, about emigration. There was a fine juvenile population at this place, and in excellent spirits. Some of the leading men had been to the West Indies, either as delegates or in charge of gangs of Kroomen; but the usual complaint was pressed, that those who had already gone to the West Indies had not returned, and that the people were consequently unwilling to leave the place, as they entertained apprehensions about those who are now in those countries. *It was evident no emigrants were to be obtained at this place.* The huts were about as numerous as at Settra Kroo, and the majority of the people present were women and children.

"Thursday, 13th April.—Went on shore at Great Neffou, with the usual success. The people refused to emigrate until those who had already gone to the West Indies should return. Held a grand palaver, at which I should imagine all the people of the village were present. *The burden of the discussion was the want of a dash, and the expression of surprise, that the white Queen had never sent his sable Majesty a present by any of the vessels which had called at Neffou for emigrants; and as we had not presented ourselves with sundry pieces of cloth, satin-stripe, three or four gallons of rum, and divers other small articles, we might return on board our ship. This was both explicit and decisive; and as all further prospects were thus terminated, the party went on board, and made sail at daylight on the following morning, Friday, 14th April, for Trinidad.* Two Kroo boys, who had offered themselves at Grand Bassa as emigrants, requested to be allowed to go on shore, as they had no desire to go to the West Indies. Their request was, of course, complied with. It was evident that they had only remained on board for what they could get. I saw them afterwards on shore, with their faces chalked or smeared with dirt, according to the fashion of some of the village inhabitants."

## OBSERVATIONS.

"The following observations suggest themselves from the recent but short visit to the Kroo Coast. The people either do not understand the nature of the engagements the emigrants have entered into, who are gone to the West Indies, or they have no idea of the duration of the period for which those emigrants have hired themselves as labourers. I saw two certificates of engagements entered into with these people, and clearly the period of service has not expired, yet they entertain much apprehension and dissatisfaction that the emigrants had not yet returned.

"I am unable to state any circumstance which may be considered as indicative of the desire of these people to emigrate to the West Indies; on the other hand, the only two Kroo boys who had remained with us for about a week, and apparently satisfied with their prospects, left the ship immediately she was about to proceed to Trinidad. It is true that 'Jack Purser,' the sub-agent, states in his letter that many of the people were desirous of going to the West Indies; but the sub-agent neither sent any emigrants on board, nor did any of the people offer themselves as emigrants, neither did any of them accept the offer which was freely made to them of a passage to Trinidad.

"I met several Kroomen who had served on board the British and foreign ships-of-war on the coast; amongst others, the head Krooman,

who served on board her Majesty's steamer *Thunderbolt*, for two years and-a-half, during the period I was paymaster and purser of that steam-vessel. Whatever comforts and conveniences they may have been accustomed to on board those men-of-war, they revert to their former habits and customs when they return to their country. The standard of living is extremely low.

"The people are scattered over a considerable extent of coast; and, to judge from personal though partial observation, there does not appear to be any extensive population from which to select any great number of emigrants.

"The Kroomen do not mention the necessity they are under of being compelled to work hard in the West Indies. The whole and sole subject of complaint is, that the people do not return to give an account of the 'New Country.'

"In Sierra Leone, the people are thoroughly impressed with the necessity they are under of being compelled to work, if they become emigrants in the West Indies. Generally speaking, there is the utmost indifference on the subject of emigration. The women are averse to working in the cane-fields, and even such of them as had not been to the West Indies did not fail to advert to this circumstance when offered a free passage to Trinidad. The men go to their farms, and labour certainly as much as would be required to perform a task in the West Indies; but the women do not assist in this employment, which is ordinarily carried on at a distance from their location. While the men are employed upon their farms, the women remain at home grating cassada, when not engaged in domestic duties, or they carry produce to the neighbouring market. They also assist in the preparation of arrowroot and starch. They spread out ginger and pepper to dry, or they expose a few ground-nuts, yams, or cassada cake for sale before the door of their huts. Certainly, I have not seen the women assist generally in the laborious duties of agriculture. Such is the state of society at Sierra Leone, and it would appear that something analogous to this is necessary, if it be required to induce the resident population to leave that colony, in order to become settlers in the West Indies.

"At Sierra Leone there is a population of about 50,000 persons located within a comparatively small space, and in various stages of improvement. It remains to be seen, from experience, whether it will be more successful to seek for emigrants amongst the ruder tribes upon the African coast, or amongst the improved and improving population of Sierra Leone."

"19th May, 1848.—Arrived at Trinidad, after a passage of thirty-five days from Neffou on the Kroo coast."

The parts of the foregoing report which we have marked in *italics* must, we should suppose, convince every person that the Africans at Sierra Leone enjoy too many advantages there to be easily induced to emigrate to the West Indian colonies. Their condition is one of comparative comfort, and their rapid progress in civilization, as well as their commercial activity, is most gratifying. The abuses arising from the old system of apprenticing the liberated Africans to the older colonists, will disappear with the abolition of that bad practice, which has, we are happy to say, been decided upon. With moral and religious instruction open to them, we trust the negroes in Sierra Leone will become a great blessing to their countrymen around them, and long enjoy a state of freedom and prosperity. The report will equally show the reasons why the Kroomen will not embark as emigrants to the West Indies; first, because they do not believe faith will be kept with them; but more particularly, because the "dash," or purchase-money, was not tendered the chiefs, for the purpose of obtaining their consent. "This was both explicit and decisive," in the opinion of Mr. Hamilton; and "as all further prospects were thus terminated," he departed without any immigrants for Trinidad.

## REPORT OF A VISIT OF THE EMIGRATION AGENT AT SIERRA LEONE TO THE KROO COAST.

As this report differs in some measure from Mr. Hamilton's, we feel it right to give it, as it will be found valuable for reference, and contains some facts, in relation to the Africans on the Coast, not previously known. Though Mr. Fisher visited a much larger extent of Coast than properly belongs to the Kroo country, it is evident he found the people comparatively few in number, not more, at the very utmost, than 30,000, in the twelve towns at which he called. Six of these, in his judgment, would furnish no emigrants, and the other six could not furnish many out of a population of 15,000 only. Mr. Hamilton found they would furnish none.

## DEPARTURE FROM SIERRA LEONE.

"Having been appointed by Governor Macdonald, Acting Agent of Emigration, I embarked on board H.M.S. *Growler*, Captain Potbury commanding, on the 13th ult., for a passage to the Kroo country, in conformity with his Excellency's directions, as well as the ninth clause of the printed instructions for the guidance of the agent of emigration,

which had been furnished to me, in order to visit the various towns and stations on the Coast, and to make the necessary arrangement for securing Kroo emigrants for the West Indies. I was landed by Captain Potbury at Cape Palmas on the 17th ult., (an extreme point on the Kroo Coast), and having visited every Kroo town between that Cape and Sierra Leone, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Earl Grey, her Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonies, the following as the result of the information I obtained, and the observations I made at each town, with regard to the chance of success likely to attend the measure of emigration in that quarter."

#### CAPE PALMAS.

"I shall take the towns consecutively, as I visited them up the Coast, commencing with Cape Palmas. The population of this place is mixed, and is about 4,000; the majority of the inhabitants being employed by the palm oil ships. Immediately on my arrival I obtained an interview with the principal chiefs and headmen of the Kroo and Fish tribes, and explained to them the object of my-visit. They appeared to understand very clearly everything connected with the measure of emigration; how long they would be required to labour in the place to which they might emigrate, before obtaining a passage back to their own country, as well as the description of labour they would have to perform there, and stated they would have no objection to send over a few to see the West Indies, and to return to report their opinions. Few, however, of those present at the interview were inclined to proceed to the West Indies; and from the fact of their always finding full employment on board the palm oilers employed in the Leeward trade, and being able to visit their homes in from eight to twelve months at furthest, I am of opinion that no reliance can be placed in the inhabitants of Cape Palmas turning their attention seriously to emigration; a few, and but a few, might be induced to emigrate; but it would be unwise to count on any permanent success for the measure in that quarter."

#### GARROWAY.

"This was the next place I visited, which I reached on the evening of the 19th. It is about twenty-five miles from Cape Palmas; its population is composed of Kroo and Fish Men, amounting to about 3,000. Here, as at Cape Palmas, the inhabitants find constant employment on board the palm-oil ships, and therefore I cannot hold out any hope that they would forego that employment for the purpose of emigration. I called a meeting of the headmen, and entered into a conversation with them on the subject of emigration; to which they listened, and offered no objection, although it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that, so long as they procure labour in the vicinity of their own coast, they will emigrate. I am, therefore, not at all sanguine that the measure will be attended with any better success here than at Cape Palmas."

#### KING WILL'S TOWN.

"King Will's Town, distant from Garroway eighty miles. I reached this place on the 21st, and on the 22nd had an interview with the Nanna Kroo and King Will's chiefs, these two places being only one mile apart. The population of these two towns is entirely Kroo,—no Fish Men,—and amounts to not more than 5,000. A great many were very anxious to emigrate; and, as they cannot find such constant employment as the inhabitants of Cape Palmas and Garroway, I am of opinion that a fair proportion of these might readily be induced to emigrate."

#### SETTRA KROO.

"I arrived at this settlement on the 23rd. It is extensive, and contains a population of about 6,000. On holding a palaver with the headmen and chiefs, I found that they had already sent many of their people over to the West Indies, and that in the month of April last a vessel had called there, and taken away a few for Berbice, although they appeared greatly disappointed at some boys, who accompanied Mr. Bagot to Demerara, not having been sent back. I am nevertheless of opinion that on the whole they are disposed to give emigration a fair trial, and that eventually numbers would emigrate annually. This is an excellent place for obtaining water and provisions; and should emigration from the Kroo coast be attended with such success as to render a dépôt for the emigrants desirable, I would recommend this settlement as better adapted than any other for this purpose; but, until emigration has been fairly tried all along the Kroo coast, it would, in my opinion, be premature to make any definite arrangements as to the establishing of dépôts, which the success of the scheme would alone render necessary."

#### GRAND BATTAN AND BLUE BERRY.

"I left Settra Kroo on the 24th, and on the 25th arrived at Grand Battan, having called off Blue Berry. From the latter place many canoes came off, and from what I learnt there and at Grand Battan I have every reason for believing that a great many of the inhabitants of these two places would gladly emigrate to the West Indies. I attempted twice to land at Neffou, but owing to the heavy surf running I could not effect a landing. The population of Grand Battan and Blue Berry I estimated at 3,000. I may here observe, that Blue Berry is probably the only place on the Kroo coast, where constant communication could be kept

up with safety between the ship and the shore, during the whole year. The inhabitants are quiet and inoffensive; and this place, like Settra Kroo, is well adapted for a dépôt."

#### ROCK CESS AND GRAND CORA.

"On the 27th and 28th I visited Rock Cess and Grand Cora, at neither of which, in my opinion, is there the slightest chance of success, the inhabitants having unhesitatingly declared themselves opposed to the measure."

#### TRADE TOWN.

"Trade Town I arrived at on the 29th. The population amounts to 1,000, and is Bassa. Here, there is every reason to believe, emigration would meet with success. A great many appeared most anxious to emigrate. There are several small towns in its vicinity. Between Trade Town and Sierra Leone, where I arrived on the 13th instant, having been away just one month, there are no towns from which emigrants can be procured. I did not therefore visit any."

#### RECAPITULATION.

"It might be convenient to recapitulate the towns on the Kroo coast which I visited, dividing them into two classes; those at which there is reason to believe emigration would be attended with success, and those the inhabitants of which are opposed.

#### Inhabitants.

King Will's Town }	.....	5,000
Nanna Kroo	.....	6,000
Settra Kroo	.....	3,000
Grand Battan }	.....	1,000
Blue Berry	.....	
Trade Town	.....	
In the second class I would place,		
Cape Palmas	.....	4,000
Garroway	.....	3,000
Rock Cess	.....	No return.
Grand Cora	.....	No return.
Neffou	.....	No return.
		22,000

"The former towns are those of greatest extent and largest population, except, probably, Cape Palmas and Garroway, on the Kroo coast.

"The aggregate population of the foregoing towns amounts to about 30,000; and as the palm-oil trade with this colony and England, and other places on the coast, affords constant employment for about 8,000, I do not think that under the most favourable circumstances more than 1,000 Kroo emigrants could be obtained annually for the West Indies. Until, however, the measure has had a fair trial,—which it has not yet had,—and has had time to work smoothly, and be thoroughly understood, it would be premature to advance any decided opinion, one way or another. On the whole, I am, however, of opinion, that there is a sufficiently fair prospect of success to warrant the belief that eventually a stream of emigrants may be continually kept up from the Kroo country to the West Indies. Much, however, indeed, I may say, the whole success of the measure entirely depends on good faith, in every particular, being kept with the Kroo people, for once deceived, or once they fancy themselves deceived, they become suspicious and distrustful, and the mere word of one would have the effect of at once putting an end to the scheme. Scrupulously fair dealing, and a determination on the part of their employers to act uprightly and honestly with them, and not to take any undue or unfair advantage, would go very far in reconciling these people to the measure, and of inducing them to give it their full and entire support; whereas an opposite course will assuredly ruin the scheme past redemption."

It is very evident that Mr. Fisher's visit was too rapid, and his examination too superficial, to warrant him in making the assertion that 1000 emigrants per annum could be obtained from the Kroo towns for the West Indies. Out of a population of 15,000, it is preposterous to suppose that anything approaching that number could be procured by any means short of compulsion and purchase; and, with such a drain, the country would soon be depopulated. Whatever we may think of Mr. Fisher's activity, we have but a poor opinion of his judgment; his zeal has evidently outstripped his discretion.

During his stay on the Kroo coast we find Mr. Fisher appointed four sub-agents—Tom Dallas, at Garroway; Purser, at King Will's Town; Jack Purser, at Settra Kroo; and Joseph Freeman, at Little Kroo—at a salary of five dollars a month each, and head-money for the emigrants they may collect. It is impossible that the Government can sanction such appointments as these.

The two Reports, we conceive, settle the question of African emigration to the West Indies.

CULTIVATION OF SUGAR IN CUBA, PORTO RICO,  
BRAZIL, &c.

In the month of December, 1847, the British Government despatched a circular letter to the consular agents residing in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, for the purpose of eliciting information in reference to the cultivation of sugar; its estimated cost, and other particulars relating to free and slave labour. It was anticipated that an inquiry would be instituted into the causes of the distress then existing in the British West India colonies. The information collected was, therefore, intended to be laid before a Committee of the House of Commons. In the parliamentary paper now before us, No. 250, 1848, the answers to the queries forwarded by Government are given. They are, for the most part, very elaborate, and go much into detail; but, in many respects, they are unsatisfactory; and in some instances, we may add, contradictory. In the following abstract of the answers, we give the pith of the information contained in the communications to Government, and for particulars beg to refer our readers to the originals.

THE EXTENT AND COST OF SLAVE CULTIVATION IN THOSE COUNTRIES; STATING, AS NEARLY AS MAY BE POSSIBLE, THE ESTIMATED COST OF THE DIFFERENT OPERATIONS IN THE CULTIVATION AND MANUFACTURE OF SUGAR, WHICH MAKES UP ITS TOTAL COST TO THE PRODUCER.

HAVANA.—About 8,000 English square miles are eligible for sugar cultivation, and about one-fourth is devoted to that purpose. An estate, with capital invested to the amount of £50,000, produces 4,000 boxes of 400lbs. each, at an annual expenditure of £7,180. The cost of raising sugar, at this rate, would be 1d. per lb. The net profits of the planters, during 1847, have been estimated at from 30 to 50 per cent. The exports from Havana and Matanzas, in 1847, were 201,000 tons. From other parts, and what was reserved for internal consumption, may be estimated at 100,000 tons, making a total of 300,000 tons. As new lands have been brought into cultivation, an increasing yearly quantity may be expected. PORTO RICO.—There is a great quantity of land lying uncultivated in this island; however, as much as can be, with the present number of slaves, is under cultivation. The annual produce of sugar is about 100,000 hogsheads, of 1,000lbs. each. Independent of the charge of conveyance, it is calculated that the total expense in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar produced on an estate, with a sufficient strength of slaves, without hiring labourers, costs the planter at least two dollars, or 8s. sterling per 100lbs. PERNAMBUCO.—Extent of land under cultivation, 200 square leagues. Harvest of 1847 produced 61,000 tons, besides rum and molasses. Cost of production, about 9s. 6d. per cwt. This paid the proprietors nearly 10 per cent.; but this is much above the average profit. BAHIA.—The cost of producing sugar is about 11s. 11d. per cwt. PARA.—The cultivation of sugar is very small in amount. Raw sugar can be sold barely to remunerate the cultivator, at about 10s. per cwt. RIO DE JANEIRO.—Not more than twelve square leagues are devoted to the production of sugar. The average value of sugar on the estate is about 10s. per cwt. PARAIBA.—The following is a rough calculation of the total cost of the cultivation and manufacture of 2,000 moulds of raw sugar, of 160lbs. each, equal to 100lbs. of clayed sugar, on an estate worked by 40 able-bodied slaves, men and women, Rs. 1,664,200, equal to £177 2s. 1d. sterling.

WHETHER ANY, AND WHAT PROPORTION, IF ANY, OF THE SUGAR PRODUCED IS RAISED BY FREE LABOURERS, WORKING FOR WAGES, OR OTHERWISE.

HAVANA.—There is one estate wholly cultivated by white men, a company of Catalonians, who are said to have been unsuccessful. Otherwise, the estates are almost universally worked by negroes. PORTO RICO.—Free people are employed more or less upon all the estates in the island, in clearing land, draining, weeding, &c. PERNAMBUCO.—A very small proportion of the sugar of this province is raised by free labour. It is certainly less than 10 per cent. BAHIA.—All sugar produced is raised by slave labour. PARA.—All the sugar produced here is the result of slave-labour exclusively. RIO DE JANEIRO.—There is no sugar produced by free labour.

THE COST OF ANY GIVEN QUANTITY OF WORK BY SLAVES, OR FREEMEN, BY THE TASK OR JOB.

HAVANA.—The cost of clearing and planting is about £10 per acre. Job and task work are almost entirely unknown. PORTO RICO.—The cost of hoeing and planting is about from £5 to £6

per acre. Field free labourers earn about 1s. 6d. per day. The cost of labour, when performed by slaves, for the production of 100lbs. of sugar, is about 8s., and by free labour about 10s. BAHIA.—The hire of a slave is about 10d. sterling. PARA.—Task work is unknown. RIO DE JANEIRO.—Task or job work unknown.

THE PRESENT PRICE OF A SLAVE, AND WHETHER THE PRICE HAS INCREASED OR DIMINISHED OF LATE YEARS, AND THE CAUSE ASSIGNED FOR IT; ALSO THE AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE.

HAVANA.—Field hands are worth from £90 to £110 sterling. The increased demand for sugar, the consequent creation of new estates, and more extended cultivation, together with the difficulty of obtaining fresh supplies, is the cause of the great rise. In crop-time, the mortality has been known to be 10 per cent. upon some estates, but the probable mortality is about 5 per cent. In some situations, in connection with bad treatment, the mortality is quite 10 per cent. PORTO RICO.—The price of a slave varies from £60 to £65. BAHIA.—The price of a slave is from £45 to £50. PARA.—The present price of a slave is about £58, being an increase in value of about £15, in consequence of non-importation. The average duration of life is from 50 to 55. RIO DE JANEIRO.—The present value of a newly-imported slave is from £50 to £55 cash. The price of newly-imported slaves has lately diminished, which may be owing to the immense importation which has taken place within the last few months. I should say the highest average of the duration of life is 36 years. PARAIBA.—The value of a slave varies from £45 to £50. Average duration of life about 30.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SUGAR CULTIVATION GENERALLY; THE RELATION OF THE SLAVE POPULATION TO THE PROPRIETARY BODY, AND WHETHER THERE IS TRANQUILLITY AND SECURITY OF PROPERTY PREVAILING.

HAVANA.—The state of sugar cultivation is very prosperous. All the modern inventions of machinery are now in use here. To this is to be attributed chiefly the great increase in the production. The relation of the slaves towards the proprietary body is at best of a very doubtful character. They appear to have from day to day less regard for their masters, and look for their emancipation most anxiously. This has been very observable since the horrors of the suppressed insurrection of 1844, which spread ideas of emancipation all over the island amongst the slaves in a way never entertained by them before. They used to look to their masters as their benefactors; whereas now the proprietors can observe that they no longer dare trust their slaves' fidelity. So that, although security prevails, it is maintained by continual vigilance, the exhibition of armed force, and the most severe police regulations in every part of the Government. PORTO RICO.—The masters and slaves are generally upon good terms. On some few estates they may be ill used, but in general they are well treated, and on some estates they show much attachment to their masters. Out of a population of 450,000, the slaves do not amount to more than 50,000, and the free people do not take part with them. Independently of the regular troops, consisting of three regiments of 1200 men each, and a battalion of artillery, they have besides seven regiments of militia, of 1000 men each, and three companies of local artillery, ready to check any disturbance. PERNAMBUCO.—The relation of the slave to the proprietary body is that of absolute subjection. The law even makes an exception against them as regards the punishment of death. That of the 10th of June, 1835, in decreeing that no one should for the future be punished with death, not only excludes "slaves who kill, administer poison, or wound with intent to kill their masters," but further enacts, with unusual cruelty for Brazilian law, that "the decision of the judge shall be executed in such cases without appeal," which is allowed to all others, criminal as well as civil. Then, although the penal code, 14th Art., justifies moderate punishment of a slave by his master, and by Art. 59 of the law of the 1st October, 1828, the Municipal Chambers are enjoined to take care that slaves are not ill treated, how is it possible for a person in such a position, in a country, too, where the laws are badly administered to the freest, the richest, and most powerful, to obtain a redress of injuries? Nothing can be more rigorous, nothing more irresponsible, than the power of the proprietary body over the slave. His political rights, his social happiness, his very existence lie in his master's hands. I should, notwithstanding, state, that in the sense in which I understand your lordship's question, that both tranquillity and security of property exist. Any-

thing to the contrary has no relation to slavery, but to political faction fomented by bad government. **BAHIA.**—The crop of this province has increased, but the quality has not improved during the last twenty years. If by the relation between slaves and proprietors their numbers be understood, no certain answer can be given, for want of statistical returns. As to their civil position to each other, the slave is protected by law from undue severity, which law is rarely enforced in towns, but never in the interior, where the master may be said to have full power over his slave, even unto death. At present, tranquillity prevails; but by far the greater part of the inhabitants of the interior consisting of African slaves, security of persons or property is at all times precarious. **PARA.**—The cultivation of sugar is lucrative. **RIO DE JANEIRO.**—Sugar cultivation is on the decline. Coffee cultivation is increasing immensely. **PARAIBA.**—Sugar cultivation is on the increase, and is likely to continue so as long as the market in England is open to Brazil as well as to other parts of the world. The relation of slaves to their owners in general is very good, at least it appears so; great subordination is effected by the severe punishments inflicted on offenders; but to me it appears as if all slaves look upon their masters as tyrants, from whose bondage they are continually panting to break loose; and I greatly fear the result of an insurrection at present in Brazil, for, without doubt, the slave population would avail themselves of the opportunity to throw off their yoke, and their first step would be to put an end to the lives of their former oppressors. At present, tranquillity as well as security of property prevails throughout the province.

**THE INTERNAL TAXATION AND THE EXPORT DUTY STATED IN ENGLISH MONEY.**

**HAVANA.**—There is no internal tax beyond one of three per cent., nominally for tithes. The export duty is only about 7s. 6d. per ton. **PORTO RICO.**—Five per cent. is the Government tax upon the gross produce of the estate. The export duty upon sugar is about 5d. English, per 100 lbs. **PERNAMBUCO.**—There is a general tax of three per cent. upon all land under cultivation. Export duty is 10 per cent. **BAHIA.**—Internal taxation of sugar, 4s.; the export duty, 7s. per cent. **PARA.**—The internal taxation on sugar for home consumption is 5 per cent., and for exportation 12 per cent. **RIO DE JANEIRO.**—Sugar now pays an export duty of 11 per cent. **PARAIBA.**—The internal taxation on sugar is 10 per cent.; export duty, 2 per cent. The cost of cultivating and manufacturing sugar in Cuba and Porto Rico, generally agrees with that we have received from private sources; we therefore assume it to be correct. The price at which sugar can be raised for exportation is about 1d. per lb., exclusive of interest on capital, which is estimated at three-sevenths of a penny per lb. more. But it must be remembered that the sugar manufactured for exportation in the Spanish colonies is clayed. The cost of cultivation varies somewhat in Brazil, say, from 9s. 6d. to 11s. 11d. per cwt. for clayed sugars, exclusive of interest on capital. In Paraiba, the cost of cultivation appears to be much less than in any other province; it is so low, indeed, that we believe the estimate to be founded in error. In this province, 160 lbs. of raw sugar is said to yield 100 lbs. of clayed.

In the researches we have made into the comparative cost of sugar cultivation, we have found it extremely difficult to arrive at a conclusion satisfactory to ourselves. The circumstances incidental to this cultivation are so various, and we might add so dissimilar, that we do not believe anything like accuracy can be arrived at. We are, however, satisfied, from a general view of the whole evidence before us, that, all other things being equal, free labour is cheaper than slave-labour, and that whenever and wherever the former is brought into fair competition with the latter, it will fully sustain its ground. This does not, however, in the slightest degree alter the view we entertain of the duty of prohibiting the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets. From the replies of the consular agents it appears that whatever amount of tranquillity may exist in the Spanish colonies and Brazil at the present moment,—a tranquillity only secured by brute force,—it may be broken at any instant, and that consequently both life and property may be said to be always at stake.

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.**  
**GENERAL TAYLOR.**

It does not speak well, either for the independence of the United States, or for the civic virtues of its leading men, that none but soldiers or slaveholders are deemed worthy of its presidential chair. With the exceptions of the two Adamses and Martin Van

Buren, all the presidents of the great North American Republic have belonged to one or other of the classes we have enumerated, and sometimes they have united them in the same person, as in the cases of George Washington and Zachary Taylor; for we suppose, though the final state of the poll is not yet known in this country, that he is, at this moment, occupying the White House, with all its dignities, emoluments, and patronage. The fact is, that the election of a president is altogether an affair of party, and not of desert in the person elected; if it were the latter, "old rough and ready," as he is familiarly termed, would not now be the head of the Union.

Many of our readers are probably but slightly, if at all, aware of the character of General Taylor, and may possibly have been misled by the eulogistic articles which have appeared in the English press concerning him. We shall draw from our stores a few characteristic notices of this individual, whom "the Whigs," of whose sentiments Daniel Webster is the exponent, delight to honour.

The first time we were brought acquainted with Zachary Taylor was during the late war which the Federal Government of the United States, to its eternal dishonour, waged against the Seminole Indians. It was bloody and relentless, and was carried on, as is well known, in the interests of the slaveholders of the South, whose slaves would occasionally seek refuge in the woods and swamps of Florida from the cruelties and oppressions of their masters. It was reserved for this wretch—he does not deserve the name of man—to add a new atrocity to that barbarous war, by recommending the importation of Cuban bloodhounds to hunt down the poor Indians, in their otherwise inaccessible retreats. His proposition was received with so much horror at the time, that a memorial and remonstrance was addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives against it, signed by some of the very men, who, during the late election, have devoted themselves to his service. The *Philadelphian Daily Republican* reminds these persons of their baseness in the following editorial:

"The traveller, we all know, lodges sometimes with strange bedfellows: John Tyler and John M. Botts, under the same counterpane, was a spectacle to be remembered. But there are some connections in the present campaign, more laughable than any incident of travel. We have even heard of Botts and Tyler in the same bed, but that is a mere 'circumstance' in comparison with the Whigs of Philadelphia supporting General Taylor as their candidate for the presidency. We shall enter into no argument at present, but rest satisfied with submitting the following letter and memorial to our readers, and vouching for their authenticity.

"Head Quarters, Army of the South, Fort Brooke,  
"July 28th, 1839.

"Sir,—I have the honour to enclose to you a communication, this moment received, on the subject of procuring BLOODHOUNDS from the Island of Cuba, to aid the army in its operations against the hostiles in Florida. I AM DECIDEDLY IN FAVOUR OF THE MEASURE, AND BEG LEAVE AGAIN TO URGE IT AS THE ONLY MEANS OF RIDING THE COUNTRY OF THE INDIANS, who are now broken up into small parties, that take shelter in swamps and hummocks as the army approaches, making it impossible for us to follow or overtake them without such auxiliaries.

"Should the measure meet the approbation of the Department, and the necessary authority be granted, I will open a correspondence on the subject with Mr. Evertson, through Major Hunt, Assistant Quartermaster, at savable terms, TO EMPLOY A FEW DOGS, WITH PERSONS THAT UNDERSTAND THEIR MANAGEMENT.

"I wish it distinctly understood, that my object in employing dogs is only to ascertain where the Indians can be found, not to worry them. I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

"Z. TAYLOR,

"Bt. Br. Gen. U. S. A., Commanding.

"To Gen. R. Jones, Washington, D. C.  
**Copy.**—To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:—The memorial and remonstrance of the undersigned citizens of the United States, respectfully sheweth—that your memorialists have learned, with deep regret and abhorrence, that a number of hounds have recently been imported from the Island of Cuba, for the purpose of employing them against the Seminole Indians, with whom the Government is now carrying on a war in the territory of Florida. Dreadful as are the evils attendant on a state of warfare, even in its most mitigated form—to aggravate them by the introduction of so barbarous and inhuman a measure, we view as an outrage upon every feeling of humanity, against which we are bound solemnly to protest. As a territory of the United States, Florida is subject to the control of the General Government, and we earnestly beseech Congress to interpose its authority to arrest this attempt, and

*preserve our country from the deep and lasting disgrace which must be inflicted by so FOUL a blot upon the national character.'*

"Endorsed—26th Cong. 1st Sess.—Memorial of a number of citizens of the United States, remonstrating against the employment of blood-hounds against the Indians in Florida. 1840, March 16th. Laid on the table."

"To this memorial we find, among other citizens of Philadelphia, the names of J. R. Chandler, Whig leader for Taylor; Charles Gibbons, do. do. do.; E. W. Keyser, Native leader for Taylor; William J. A. Birkey, do. do. do.; Wm. B. Reed, Whig do. do."

Such an one as General Taylor was just the man to be sent by President Polk to provoke a war with the Mexicans. "Right or wrong," he was ready to do the villainous work of his employer; and he has received from the hands of the very men who denounced that war as utterly indefensible and infamous, the highest honours which the Republic could confer on the most virtuous and eminent of her citizens. To add to his claims, he is a slaveholder. As such the entire South has rallied round him, and they know their man. They know that he will veto the "Wilmot Proviso," professedly a favourite measure of the Northern Whigs, and extend, as he has the opportunity, the domain of slavery from Texas to the Pacific. One of the Ohio papers, the *Standard*, alluding to the numerous letters published by General Taylor, during his canvass for the Presidency, asks:—

"Can any man show one containing even a single line expressing his regret that slavery should exist? Taylor men of this city of Columbus have letters from him they dare not show. Do they contain anything in favour of freedom? one word that indicates even the least liberality on the subject? Has he ever yet offered liberty to a single one of those human beings, the fruit of whose uncompensated labours he enjoys? Has he ever done any one thing that would recommend him to a Christian community of free people? No; he is a slave-trader, and a sugar and cotton planter, with all the interests and prejudices of his peculiar situation. In fine, he stands confessed an ignorant *slave-trading soldier*, owing his nomination to the fraudulent acts of the Louisiana delegation, and trusting to concealment and deception for success."

Among some of his slave-trading transactions we find the following:—"In the year 1842, he bought a plantation in Louisiana, for the sum of \$5,000 dollars, on which were eighty-three slaves and two small children:—also all the horses, mules, cattle, hogs, farming utensils, and tools, to have and to hold as his property." The New Orleans correspondent of the *Boston Post*, alluding to the notoriety of his slave-dealing transactions, says:—"It is well known that Taylor is constantly engaged thus, and invests every cent he can raise in purchasing land and slaves."

To deceive the better portion of the Whig party at the North, it was affirmed that General Taylor was in favour of the "Wilmot Proviso," the object of which is to prevent the extension of slavery into any new territory that may be acquired by the Union; but the Southern Whigs utterly repudiate the idea that their candidate will be so recreant to their cause as to affirm it. The *New Orleans Courier* observes, on this point:—

"The Whigs at the North universally affirm that General Taylor is in favour of the Wilmot Proviso. Everybody in Louisiana knows that the General cannot be in favour of any doctrine or measure which would afford the slightest countenance to the machinations of the abolitionists, because he is the owner of at least TWO HUNDRED SLAVES, which he works on two plantations, one in Louisiana and the other in Mississippi, and not long since he added to their force by purchasing a considerable number of negroes from New Orleans. It would be strange, indeed, if General Taylor, under such circumstances, could be so far forgetful of the safety of his property and that of his family, so to aid the enemies of the South."

The *Richmond (Va.) Whig* is of the same opinion, and the *Nashville Banner* says:—"A Louisiana planter in favour of the Wilmot Proviso! The intolerable absurdity of such a proposition scarcely permits us to treat it with any seriousness."

To the qualities of the soldier and slaveholder, General Taylor adds that which gives finish to both—the grossest brutality and profanity. We shall not defile our pages by an attempt to delineate his swearing propensities, but confine ourselves to the two following extracts from American papers. The *Utica Free Press* says:—

"We do not deny that General Taylor may be naturally a man of generous impulses and humane feelings, but that he is now the model for President of this 'Model Republic,' either for his moral or political qualities, we have seen no evidences whatever, except that he has been the most *successful butcher* in the late disgraceful war. All we have been able to learn of his daily habits, shows, most conclusively, that he has

experienced all the evil effects of a slaveholding education; that he is rough in manners, very profane in language, overbearing and cruel in his treatment to domestics and dependents. The following may serve as a common specimen. Our informant was a trader in Mexico, and an eyewitness of the incident which he relates. When the General's tent was pitched near Brazos Santiago, our informant had occasion to hire goods brought on by mules. One morning, one of the mules which he had hired for that purpose got loose and began to run round the General's tent, which was near-by. The waggoner ran after the mule, for the purpose of catching him: the General saw him chasing the mule, and not knowing why he was pursuing him, cried to him vociferously many times to stop chasing the mule, using a profane oath every time; but the waggoner was so much engaged in attempting to catch the mule that he did not hear the General's call until the mule came up in front of the General's tent, near a small fire. The General in great wrath went to the fire, picked up a brand with some fire on one end, approached the waggoner, asking him in tones of vengeance why he did not stop chasing the mule when he told him to; and coming within reach, cudgelled him furiously with the brand, burning and bruising the waggoner's head and face, and uttering a volley of profanity. And this was usurped authority on the part of the General, as he had no rightful authority over the man or mule. Our informant has been in Mexico, and seen the General, nearly every day, for the last two years, and says, 'this conduct was nothing unusual—that he is very fond of chastising, with his own hands, any one who may in any manner have incurred his displeasure.'"

To this the *Roxbury Gazette* adds:—

"We spent a day or two at West Point, on our return from Buffalo, and besides indulging in the agreeable and salutary delights which cluster upon and around that romantic and charming spot, we gathered a few very choice anecdotes of that celebrated peace-man, pietist, and abolitionist, Zachary Taylor. It would, no doubt, be quite edifying to the editors of the *Salem Register*, *Worcester Aegis*, &c. to spend a little time with those who know something about old Zack. The 'Second Washington,' of the *Salem* editors, ministers and religionists, is quite a different character from the rough, vulgar, miserly, profane, passionate, ignorant, brutal, bloody, blood-hound, slave-driving Louisiana sugar-planter of the army. We shall now refer to but one single characteristic. Some strolling person has endeavoured, in the columns of a Worcester paper, to white-wash old Zack, for the express benefit of the Puritanists of New England. Nothing so much excites the astonishment and laughter of those who know old Zack, as this bold and bare-faced attempt at imposition. Before the battles of the Rio Grande, General Taylor was chiefly distinguished throughout the army for the extent, extravagance, and variety of his oaths. His faculties seemed to be largely employed in inventing new forms and modes of profanity. By reason of custom, and a rough, brutish nature, he prefers the habits and manners of the camp to the amenities and refinements of civilized life. Like a barbarian, he prides himself upon sleeping on the ground, and feeding upon the coarsest food. He is slovenly in his habits, and although the wealthiest man in the army, his miserly disposition and coarse tastes impel him to forego all the comforts and some of the decencies of civilization. But he exhibits his genius in the science of profanity. The old customary forms having become stale, he invents new modes of expression, and often startles his hearers with unheard-of combinations of oaths. \* \* \* may be regarded as one of his mildest expressions. He is in the constant habit of pouring forth volumes of oaths and imprecations, that are absolutely frightful and alarming to the hearer. We have obtained these facts from persons who are familiar with the life and character of the 'Second Washington.'"

Such is the dignified individual whom the "virtuous Whigs" have made PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!

#### ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

##### THE SLAVE MOTHER CROSSING THE OHIO.

We remember, says a writer in the *True American*, the story of a cruel master, who, without cause, had determined to sever a slave mother from her only child. She had been faithful under the very worst usage, and she determined to remain so, until he told her, that on the morrow her child must be borne to New Orleans, to be sold there in the slave-mart. It was mid-winter. The earth was frosted with a hard crust, yet at midnight she started for the Ohio, determined, if she could, to live and die with her child. She reached its banks as the pursuers rose the hill beyond; no boat was near, masses of broken ice were sluggishly drifting along; what was she to do? Trusting to Heaven, she put her feet on the treacherous element, and with it bending and breaking beneath her, (spectators on either side expecting to see her and her child sink at every moment,) she boldly pushed on from cake to cake, until she landed safely on the Ohio shore. Five minutes sooner and she must have perished; two minutes later, and she would have met with a watery grave; for before she had proceeded twenty steps,

the ice behind her, close on the Kentucky side, had broken, and was scattered ere she reached the mid-river. "Thank God, you and your child are safe," exclaimed the hard-hearted master, as he saw her land, rejoiced that he had escaped the responsibility of their death. "Brave woman," said a Kentuckian, who had witnessed her escape, and met her at the landing, "you have won your freedom, and shall have it." The mother and child were kept together, and liberty and love are now their lot in their humble but happy home.

## NOTICE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is published on the first of every month, at a cost of Five SHILLINGS per annum, payable in advance, if ordered through the Office, 27, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON. It may also be supplied through the usual news-vendors.

The present being a favourable opportunity, we respectfully urge our friends to use their endeavours to add to the number of our subscribers.

*The Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

LONDON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1848.

Whether it be an indication of strength or of weakness, of confidence or of fear, on the part of Government—or whether, as we suspect, it be the result of a compromise on their part with the West India body—the appointment of Mr. Henry Barkly, member of parliament for Leominster, to be Governor of British Guiana, gives rise to grave considerations. The *Times*, of the 28th ultimo, announces this appointment in the following terms:—"We have reason to believe that Mr. Barkly, M.P. for Leominster, has been appointed to succeed Sir H. Light as Governor of British Guiana. Mr. Barkly is, we believe, a West India proprietor, and has obtained, during his short experience in parliament, considerable distinction by the knowledge he has displayed on commercial and colonial subjects. Mr. Barkly was not a supporter of the present Government, and his appointment cannot, therefore, be attributed to political favoritism."

In an eulogistic leader on the West Indies, utterly at variance with historic truth, the *Times* commends the Government for this step; and suggests that they should follow up "the sagacious policy which they have exhibited in the appointment of Mr. Barkly to the governorship of Guiana, and then even the Colonial Office will win popularity."

On personal grounds we have no objection to Mr. Barkly; on public grounds we have many. What are his antecedents? He has been long and largely interested in colonial property; and is, at the present moment, the owner of two estates in Berbice, which forms part of the colony of British Guiana, to which he has been appointed Governor. Now we think, on the ground of principle, that such an appointment is wrong. Here is an individual, whose personal and private interests are bound up in the discharge of his public duties; and it is doing Mr. Barkly no wrong to suppose that, in any conflict of interests which may arise between employers and labourers, the bias of his mind will be towards the former, and not the latter; and that great practical injustice may be the consequence. His position, as Governor, is not only one of eminence, but of authority and influence, and that authority and influence, spite of himself, will be thrown into the scale of the planter-class, to which he belongs. On the ground of policy, we believe this appointment to be equally wrong. The *Times* applauds it as "reasonable and conciliatory;" and, if we interpret its language right, it would select a planter for the distinguished office of Governor in every West India colony. Now, as we believe that impartiality is of the very essence of good government, it appears to us not only unwise, but absolutely injurious to the public interests, that men should be appointed to office whose habits of thought, whose relations, and whose interests, disqualify them for the exercise of this great civic virtue. Send Mr. Barkly, if you please, to any colony where his intelligence and talents may be exercised for the benefit of all parties entrusted to his government; but do not place him in a situation where, to say the least of it, if he have the confidence of one party, he will be always regarded with suspicion by the other. It is a great mistake to suppose the planters are to be conciliated at the expense of the people. Enough has been done for them ~~already~~, and we must enter our earnest protest against this further attempt, as we have protested before, to bring the labouring population of the colonies under the domination of planter-legislators, planter-administrators, and planter-governors.

But, we suspect, Mr. Barkly's appointment results from the difficulties which have arisen from the obstinacy of the Colonial Office and the Combined Court of British Guiana, in relation to the civil list—the former insisting upon its being maintained in all its extravagance, and the latter demanding a reduction, to the extent of twenty-five per cent., on all the official salaries. If our readers wish to see the deplorable consequences which have resulted from this contest, we beg to direct their attention to the information which will be found under the head of Colonial Intelligence. We know the disgraceful history of the Guiana civil list, and although the present incumbent of the Colonial Office is not responsible for it, we are surprised that, under the altered state of the colony, he should insist upon its maintenance. In saying this, however, we by no means justify the Combined Court. They were parties to the original juggle, and, together with the then head of the Colonial Office, deserve the severest censure. It was the result of a bargain struck between the Government and the planters, at the expense of the entire colony, which has groaned under its infliction ever since it was made. What may be the instructions Mr. Barkly has received in reference to it, we cannot say; but we are satisfied that the civil list will admit of a much larger deduction than that at present demanded, without impairing the power or efficiency of the civil government.

In connexion with the appointment of Mr. Barkly, a ministerial paper says:—"It is rumoured that Jacob Omnim, Esq., a gentleman well known in the city, has been appointed to the governorship of Sierra Leone, and its dependencies. Mr. Omnim is, we understand, extensively connected with the colonies, and during the last session rendered important services to the Government, by correcting various errors of fact into which they had been inadvertently betrayed. Whatever credit is due for making so just and judicious a selection, belongs to Lord Grey. There was no family connection in the case,—not even, we are informed, personal acquaintance. The appointment was wholly unsolicited, and was made solely on public grounds. It cannot be attributed to political favoritism."

We know not what amount of importance is to be attached to this rumour; but, after the appointment of Mr. Barkly to the chief office in Guiana, we cannot see any difficulty in the way of Mr. Omnim occupying the post of Governor of Sierra Leone. With such a gentleman there, to work the scheme of African emigration to the West Indies, and with planter-governors in them to control "the savages," as they are termed, by "a strict and even severe discipline," we have no doubt Lord Grey will win the approval of the West India body, and render his tenure of office much more agreeable than it has hitherto been, from the opposition of Mr. Barkly in the House of Commons, and the stinging invectives of Jacob Omnim through the columns of the *Times*.

It affords us sincere satisfaction that our contemporary, the *Patriot*, is willing to aid the Anti-Slavery Committee in its earnest endeavours to rescue from a state of slavery, the most afflicting and degrading the world ever saw, an immense multitude of Africans, who, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, and the most solemn laws, have been illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and who, consequently, are illegally detained in bondage. There can be no doubt of the facts of the case; they are fully admitted by the British Government; they cannot be denied by Spain and Brazil; and it only requires, on the part of the Foreign Office, a resolute, yet dignified bearing, in the prosecution of its undoubted rights, to extinguish the African slave-trade, and to put an end to slavery itself.

As far back as the year 1792, Edmund Burke, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Dundas, said, "I conceive that we should not look for the true origin of the slave-trade to the place in which it began, but to the place of its final destination;" in other words, to the market for slaves—the place of demand, not the source of supply. Granville Sharp was of the same opinion; and therefore, when Thomas Clarkson, Mr. Wilberforce, and that noble band of Abolitionists who united with them, first proposed the abolition of the slave-trade, as a means for the ultimate extinction of slavery, he, with passionate earnestness and tears, besought them to attack the great cause of the slave-trade—slavery itself. Mr. Burke and Granville Sharp were right; and to this point the efforts of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have been constantly directed. The Government and Parliament, and not a few earnest Abolitionists, have



acted upon a contrary opinion; they have relied on a maritime police for its suppression, and have been baffled and beaten in all their attempts to accomplish it. Under the costly cruising system—costly in life as well as treasure—not only has not the slave-trade been put down, but, under it, the system of slavery has grown and thriven to an enormous extent; insomuch, that it has got almost entire possession of the Continental markets for its produce, and has been permitted to obtrude it on our own, contrary, as we think, to every sound principle of morals and of wise expediency. The measure proposed by the Anti-Slavery Committee for the suppression of the slave-trade is simple, reasonable, and just; and, we think, must approve itself to every friend of humanity and freedom; that it will be efficient, if tried, we entertain no doubt; but the country must speak out, or it will not be done.

It is not our intention to argue the points of difference between the Anti-Slavery Committee and the *Patriot*; it is unnecessary, as they are now agreed; but we beg to say, that the Committee never "narrowed the great question to a dispute about sugar-duties," or "identified themselves with Protectionists;" on the contrary, they felt that a great principle was involved in the proposition of Government to introduce the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil into the British markets, and, for that reason alone, they opposed it. With the Protectionists they had no sympathy, and, therefore, they utterly repudiated the ground which they took: the Committee asked for the entire exclusion of slave-grown produce, and the introduction of foreign free-grown, on equal duties with that from the British plantations abroad: the Protectionists demanded that a differential duty of ten shillings per cwt. should be levied on all produce, without regard to origin, which came into competition with that from British possessions. They sought to protect British industry and products from foreign competition: the Committee sought to prevent the extension of slavery and the slave-trade, and thereby to promote the cause of human freedom.

We are glad to descend from debateable ground, and to meet our old friends on a common platform; and we feel persuaded that, if now the supporters of the anti-slavery cause will rally their forces, and put forth their strength, in the manner proposed, slavery itself will fall in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and the foreign slave-trade cease to desolate Africa and degrade mankind.

We perceive that the British Government have recognized the independence of Liberia. This small republic is composed of liberated American slaves and free people of colour, who were sent thither by the American Colonization Society. To these has been added a numerous body of natives, the total population being estimated at 85,000. This Society was founded in 1816, and whatever might have been the motives of those with whom it originated, it has been used by slave-holders for the most hateful purposes, and has proved a formidable hindrance to the cause of abolition in the United States. It is based on the supposition that black and coloured men ought not to be admitted to citizenship in the United States, that their proper home is Africa, and that it is patriotic in American citizens to send them there. It adopts, however, the language of philanthropy and religion in the prosecution of its objects, and, by that means, manages to impose on many good-natured people.

The estimation in which the beneficiaries of the Society are held, may be gathered from the manner in which they are described by some of its oldest and most distinguished supporters. One of these says: "Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves." Another describes them as "A horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion." Another declares them to be "Of all classes of our population, the *most vicious*—contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them." Another, as "A large mass of human beings, who hang as a *vile excrescence* upon society." Another says, "They are a *curse and a contagion* wherever they reside." Others say "They are an anomalous race of beings, the *most depraved upon earth*"—"A mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon"—"Notoriously ignorant, degraded and miserable, *mentally diseased*, broken-spirited, acted upon by no motives to honourable exertions, scarcely reached in their debasement by the *heavenly light*." To "draw off this black blood," as one expresses it, is an object of this Society; but the great motive for doing so becomes conspicuous in the course of its proceedings, namely, a deep-rooted and unchristian prejudice against a people, many of whom

were living evidences of the wickedness of the white population, and all of whom had been the victims of the most cruel oppression. One proof of this prejudice, or rather hatred, we shall give from the Fifteenth Report of the Society. It says:—"The managers consider it clear that causes exist and are now operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent, as a class, in this country, which are fixed not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. CHRISTIANITY cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, but *AN ORDINANCE OF PROVIDENCE, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.*" This lying blasphemy every good man will repudiate with indignation. We must not, however, permit our indignation to interfere with our duty to the victims of a cruel and heartless prejudice; and therefore, whilst we continue to abhor the American Colonization Society and its doings, we feel no indisposition to aid our coloured brethren in Liberia; on the contrary, we would express the hope that they may prosper, and become the means of introducing the blessings of freedom, civilization, and religion, among many nations in Africa.

We have no means of ascertaining the exact number of coloured and black persons, who have been transported from the United States to Africa; it has not, however, been large; but we have great reason to fear, that the mortality connected with their removal has been dreadful, the privations of the people immense, and their progress slow.

We sincerely trust that the provisions inserted in their laws against slavery and the slave-trade, will be rigorously enforced; and that their relations with the native population will be honourable to themselves. Should this happily be the case, they will not want friends in this country to sympathize with, and help them. But, without expressing want of confidence in those who, at present, manage the affairs of Liberia, we warn them that a sharp look-out will be kept upon their proceedings; and that they must not expect the philanthropists in this country, either directly or indirectly, to play the game of the American Colonization Society.

The annexation of Cuba to the United States is a point absolutely settled in the purpose of a certain party in the latter country. They look upon it simply as a question of time and opportunity; and if our politicians think the matter too absurd to deserve their grave consideration, they will find, at no very distant period, that Cuba, like Texas, California, and New Mexico, has added another star and another stripe to the American banner. How far British honour and British interests may suffer by such an annexation, we pretend not to judge; the only question which gives us anxiety is that of the continuance of slavery; for if Cuba be annexed to the great Republic, it will be as a Slave State or States, for the purpose of enabling Southern statesmen to retain in their hands the balance of political power in the Federal Union. They dread, at present, the rise and growth of Free States; and hence, *coute qu'il coute*, they will have Cuba.

The Spanish papers in the interest of the Government affect to treat the assertions of the American papers, in reference to the negotiations which have been opened for the purchase and cessation of Cuba to the United States, as a fiction; indeed, they wholly deny that any such negotiations have ever been commenced; but the Madrid correspondents of more than one English paper say, that there is reason to believe that the statement is nevertheless correct, though the revelations of the New York papers may, for the present, rather tend to mar the fulfilment of the scheme. We believe the present rulers of Spain, Queen Christina included, are base enough to do anything, so that they may but fill their own coffers, and aggrandize their position. The golden bait held out to such persons is sure to take, unless those in this country, who have either political reasons against it, or commercial claims on Spain, seriously resolve to prevent it.

It affords us sincere pleasure to be able to inform our readers that the King of Denmark has fully confirmed the proclamation of Governor Von Scholten, giving complete emancipation to all slaves within the Danish dominions; a consummation which was welcomed with great delight by the emancipated. We hope to be able to give further and full particulars in our next.

**Literature.**

*A Tribute for the Negro. Being a Vindication of the moral, intellectual, and religious capabilities of the Coloured portion of Mankind, with particular reference to the African Race.* With Illustrations. By WILSON ARMISTEAD. Manchester: William Irwin, 39, Oldham-street; London: Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street. 1848.

We hail the appearance of this work with feelings of pleasure, and rejoice in the knowledge that an already extended circulation will place the claims of the negro race more extensively before the public than they have hitherto been.

The object of the writer has been to remove the prejudices which exist in reference to the African race, and to support their claim to equality on the ground of origin, intellect, and capacity. This he has done, not only by combatting the false philosophy by which many have been blinded in judging of the question, but he has introduced the biographies of some of the most distinguished Africans, whose acquirements, attained in most instances under circumstances of the greatest disadvantage, clearly manifest that their alleged inferiority is purely circumstantial, and that they are in every way fitted to rank with the most favoured of mankind. Amongst many others, we find the names of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Gustavus Vassa, John Tzatzoe, J. W. C. Pennington, Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, &c., cited as instances. Altogether, the book is one of great interest, and does unspeakable credit to the author, who has evidently carried out his design *con amore*. We sincerely trust that it will meet with a very extensive circulation, not only on account of its intrinsic merits, but as a reward for self-denying exertion, on behalf of the most persecuted and defamed of our race.

**GOVERNMENT LOAN TO THE EMANCIPATED COLONIES.**

A circular despatch of Lord Grey has lately been sent to the Governors of the various colonies, explaining the terms on which the advances are to be made, and the purposes to which it is expected that they will be applied. We give an analysis of this document, which includes all that is material.

It is requested that the nature and extent of all prior charges secured by law upon the revenues of such colonies as are desirous of profiting by the loan, be given, and that a sufficient permanent provision of revenue be made for the former charges, as well as those arising out of the new loan. The taxes to be pledged for this provision are required to be enacted for a period not less than that for which the loan will remain unliquidated.

The necessity of conducting every measure to be adopted with a strict reference to the terms of the first clause of the Act, which limits the application of the money to be raised to the "purpose of promoting the introduction of free labourers, or the formation of roads, railways, drainage or irrigation, or other public undertakings of a similar character."

The loans to be distributed according to the real wants of the colony, and for objects of acknowledged importance.

Especial attention to be directed to the necessity of showing in each case, by conclusive evidence, the adequacy of the taxes imposed, in respect of both amount and duration, to meet in the first instance the charges now borne upon the colonial revenues by more than merely annual appropriations; and after these charges, the charges arising for the interest and sinking fund of the loan. The comparative sufficiency of the proof adduced on this head will have great weight with her Majesty's Government in determining what proportion of assistance is to be assigned to each colony.

Those colonies which can be shown to be in the greatest distress will receive a proportionate higher amount of relief.

As the distress is that of the sugar planters, and some general and primary indication of its magnitude in one colony or another may therefore be sought in the extent to which capital has been invested in sugar cultivation in the several colonies, it may be measured with a fair degree of accuracy by the amount of the exports of sugar from each colony to this country. But this indication will be merely general and preliminary, and a further test will be applied, in order to determine how far the respective colonies have been subjected, in an equal, or in a greater or less degree, to those influences which have made the investment of capital in sugar cultivation a source of distress. The losses have resulted from diminished prices with enhanced cost of production. The colonies have been all equally subjected to the diminution of price, but the enhancement of the cost of production has been very different in different colonies, and of these differences, the difference in the rate of wages may be taken

as the best attainable, though no doubt very far from being a perfect criterion.

From a communication of the Lords of the Treasury on the subject, it would appear that the proposed rate of interest for the loan is 4 per cent., and it is intended that the securities should be issued for twenty years, and only become redeemable after that period. The securities to be issued in the form of debentures, with a sufficient number of interest coupons annexed, for presentation half-yearly during the period for which the interest is insured, by the holder of the debenture, at the indicated place of payment. They apprehend that the sale of such securities will unquestionably be most advantageously effected in this country; and that it will be for the interest of all the colonies concerned, but most especially of those by which small amounts of this loan may be raised, that the securities should be one of uniform description.

Taking into account the average exports of sugar to this country, and the amount of wages paid in each colony, the following would be the apportionment.

COLONY.	Rate of Wages per diem.	Average Exports of Sugar to Great Britain in the years 1845-46-47.	Amount apportioned.
Mauritius.....	10½	918,314	93,135
Antigua .....	7	184,305	12,461
Dominica.....	10	58,678	5,667
Grenada .....	9	84,378	7,835
Jamaica .....	15	689,098	99,840
Montserrat .....	6	8,284	480
Nevis .....	10	33,302	3,217
St. Kitts .....	12½	121,390	14,656
St. Lucia .....	15	74,395	10,779
St. Vincent .....	10	146,052	14,107
Tobago.....	11	56,923	6,048
Tortola.....	7½	7,416	587
Trinidad .....	25	370,323	89,423
British Guiana .....	20½	526,988	104,349
Barbadoes .....	7½	374,334	37,964
			499,998

**UNITED STATES COLOURED CONVENTION.**

A Coloured National Convention has lately been held at Cleveland, Ohio, the character of which appears to have been exceedingly gratifying. The meetings were attended by large numbers of white persons, who expressed themselves deeply interested in their movements. Notwithstanding the existence of "black laws" in Ohio, which forbid the coloured man entering its borders without giving security, they were not only permitted to attend in large numbers, but the administrators of the law threw open the doors of their public buildings for the use and accommodation of the Convention. The coloured press seemed delighted with the reception they received, and also with the tone and character of their assemblies.

An address to the coloured race, from which we give copious extracts, was agreed upon:—

**"AN ADDRESS TO THE COLOURED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES."**

"Fellow-Countrymen,—Under a solemn sense of duty, inspired by our relation to you as fellow-sufferers under the multiplied and grievous wrongs to which we, as a people, are universally subjected,—we, a portion of your brethren, assembled in National Convention, at Cleveland, Ohio, take the liberty to address you on the subject of our mutual improvement and social elevation:—

"The condition of our variety of the human family has long been cheerless, if not hopeless, in this country. The doctrine, perseveringly proclaimed in high places in Church and State, that it is impossible for coloured men to rise, from ignorance and debasement, to intelligence and respectability in this country, has made a deep impression upon the public mind generally, and is not without its effect upon us. Under this gloomy doctrine, many of us have sunk under the pall of despondency, and are making no effort to relieve ourselves, and have no heart to assist others. It is from this despond that we would deliver you. It is from this slumber we would rouse you. The present is a period of activity and hope. That our condition has been gradually improving, is evident to all, and that we shall yet stand on a common platform with our fellow-countrymen, in respect to political and social rights, is certain. The spirit of the age—the voice of inspiration—the deep longings of the human soul—the conflict of right with wrong—the upward tendency of the oppressed throughout the world, abound with evidence complete and ample, of the final triumph of right over wrong, of freedom over slavery, and equality over caste.

"Great changes for the better have taken place, and are still taking

place. The last ten years have witnessed a mighty change in the estimate in which we, as a people, are regarded, both in this and other lands. England has given liberty to nearly one million, and France has emancipated three hundred thousand of our brethren, and our own country shaks with the agitation of our rights. Ten or twelve years ago, an educated coloured man was regarded as a curiosity, and the thought of a coloured man as an author, editor, lawyer, or doctor, had scarce been conceived. Such, thank heaven, is no longer the case. Mountains of prejudice have been removed, and truth and light are dispelling the error and darkness of ages. The time was, when we trembled in the presence of a white man, and dared not assert or even ask for our rights, but would be guided, directed, and governed, in any way we were demanded, without ever stopping to inquire whether we were right or wrong. We were not only slaves, but our ignorance made us willing slaves. It would be easy to draw a picture of our present achievements, and erect upon it a glorious future. But, fellow-countrymen, it is not so much our purpose to cheer you by the progress we have already made, as it is to stimulate you to still higher attainments. We have done much, but there is much more to be done. We are yet the most oppressed people in the world. In the southern States of this Union, we are held as slaves. In the northern States, we are not slaves to individuals, not personal slaves, yet, in many respects, we are the slaves of the community. We are, however, far enough removed from the actual condition of the slave, to make us largely responsible for their continued enslavement, or their speedy deliverance from chains. Every one of us should be ashamed to consider himself free, while his brother is a slave. The wrongs of our brethren should be our constant theme. We ask you to devote yourselves to this cause, as one of the first and most successful means of self-improvement. Act with white Abolition Societies wherever you can, and where you cannot, get up societies among yourselves, but without exclusiveness.

"But we pass from these suggestions to others which may be deemed more important. In the Convention that now addresses you, there has been much said on the subject of labour, and especially those departments of it with which we, as a class, have been long identified. While the Convention do not inculcate the doctrine, that any kind of needful toil is in itself dishonourable, or that coloured persons are to be exempt from what are called menial employments, they do mean to say that such employments have been so long and universally filled by coloured men, as to become a badge of degradation, in that it has established the conviction that coloured men are only fit for such employments. We therefore advise you, by all means, to cease from them, as far as practicable, by pressing into others. Try to get your sons into mechanical trades; press them into the blacksmith's shop, the machine shop, the joiner's shop, the wheelwright's shop, the cooper's shop, and the tailor's shop. Trades are important. Wherever a man may be thrown by misfortune, if he has in his hands a useful trade, he is useful to his fellow-man, and will be esteemed accordingly; and of all men in the world who need trades we are the most needy.

"Understand this, that independence is an essential condition of respectability. Let us entreat you to turn your attention to agriculture. Go to farming. Be tillers of the soil. We beg and entreat you to save your money—live economically—dispense with finery, and the gaieties which have rendered us proverbial, and save your money. Not for the senseless purpose of being better off than your neighbour, but that you may be able to educate your children, and render your share to the common stock of prosperity and happiness around you. It is plain that the equality which we aim to accomplish, can only be achieved by us, when we can do for others just what others can do for us. We should therefore press into all the trades, professions, and callings, into which honourable white men press.

"It is easy to see that the means which have been used to destroy us, must be used to save us. The press must be used in our behalf: aye! we must use it ourselves; we must take and read newspapers; we must read books, improve our minds, and put to silence and to shame our opposers.

"We are your friends and servants,

(Signed by the Committee, in behalf of the Convention,) Frederick Douglass, H. Bibb, W. L. Day, D. H. Jenkins, A. H. Francis."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY—MEMORIAL OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

(From the Patriot.)

We heartily concur in the object of the memorial presented to Viscount Palmerston on the 26th ult., by a deputation of the Anti-Slavery Committee; and we earnestly recommend the adoption of every constitutional means of strengthening the hands of the Committee by public resolutions, memorials, and petitions, in accordance with their proposal. We have the more pleasure in supporting this movement, and feel it the more incumbent to do so, because we have been unable to go with the Committee altogether, either in their opposition to the cruising system, or in their advocacy of protective duties. As to the former, it is true, that "the

coercive principle" has failed to suppress the slave-trade; but we cannot regard this as affording the shadow of an argument in favour of abandoning the coercive principle, and of licensing piracy because we cannot put a stop to it. No sane person ever imagined that the slave-trade could be wholly stopped by the preventive system alone, still less as it has of late been carried on, and under the powerful counteraction of the most extraordinary inducements created by our own legislation, and sustained by British capital. As to the latter point, we can understand the consistency of *prohibitory* duties grounded upon considerations which do not touch the question of free-trade. We could cordially have advocated the total exclusion of the copper as well as the sugar of Cuba, and of Brazilian produce of all descriptions, so long as, in defiance of treaties and of every moral consideration, the Governments of Spain and Brazil persisted in carrying on the slave-trade. But, in opposing simply the introduction of slave-grown sugars, the Anti-Slavery Committee, unadvisedly, as we think, though most conscientiously, asked at once for too little and for too much;—narrowed the great question to a dispute about sugar-duties; identified themselves with the Protectionists; and took up a ground perfectly untenable in principle, so long as slave-grown cotton forms our principal import. By this course, they deprived themselves of the support of many sincere abolitionists among the free-trade party.

The object of the memorial, however, is one which ought to unite all earnest abolitionists in its favour. It is, to induce the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs to renew the demand for the liberation of African slaves imported into the Brazilian empire and the Spanish colonies, *contrary to the faith of treaties*.—On a moderate computation, we are told, this would emancipate two-thirds of the slaves in Cuba and one-half of those in Brazil. Our readers will observe the expression, to renew the demand. Eight years ago, that demand was made; and it appears from the memorial of the Anti-Slavery Committee, that the Spanish Government did not deny the claim of this country, arising out of the slave-trade-suppression treaties. The slave-traders took alarm, and a check was given to their operations. What prevented this demand from being followed up? Viscount Palmerston went out of office in 1841; and all his measures for the suppression of the slave-trade were knocked on the head by his successor.

"Had your lordship," say the memorialists, "continued long enough in power to perfect these arrangements, it might have reasonably been expected, that the civilized world would not now have had to deplore the continuance of the slave-trade with its accumulated horrors; but rather have had to rejoice in its complete extirpation, so far, at least, as professedly Christian countries are concerned. Unhappily, however, for the cause of humanity, your successor in office suspended negotiations at Madrid, and was contented, for the time, with certain regulations issued by the Spanish Government against the future continuance of the slave-trade, which have remained a dead letter to the present day. In a despatch from Lord Aberdeen to General Sancho, dated Feb. 12, 1842, his lordship says:—'The undersigned requests that General Sancho will acquaint her Highness the Regent, that her Majesty's Government do not intend, at present, to press upon the Government of Spain the question of a convention, for the purpose of examining generally into the condition of the negroes in Cuba; and that her Majesty's Government learn with pleasure that the Spanish Government have issued orders for preventing the fraudulent importation of negroes as slaves into Cuba, contrary to the engagements entered into by Spain with Great Britain.'"

The meaning of this language was well understood. "On its becoming known, that the British Government would not press its claim, the alarm subsided, and the slave-trade was continued as heretofore, to supply the waste of mortality, or to people new plantations with slaves."

In 1840, the slave-trade of Brazil had been reduced from 100,000 to 28,714; and in 1842, it was reduced to 14,000. The decrease in the Cuban slave-trade was still more marked. Lord Denman ascribes this decrease to the vigorous preventive measures of the squadron; but, as will be seen, that was not the only cause. In 1842, however, those vigorous measures "were supposed to have been condemned by the English Government, and in 1843, they were dropped." The slave-trade increased, and continued to increase; not simply because the preventive measures were relaxed, but also because the courts of Madrid and Rio had been apprised, that a fulfilment of the slave-trade-suppression treaties would not be pressed upon them, in consequence of the change in the British ministry. Lord Denman cites the following evidence, given by Captain Matson before the House of Commons' Committee, in explanation of the sudden revival of the slave-trade, after it had been so effectively repressed.

"1,256. (Captain Matson) I consider that in 1842 the slave-trade had almost ceased: in fact, the slave-trade, I consider, had very nearly ceased when Lord Aberdeen's letter made its appearance in 1842.

"1,257. What letter?—A letter written in May, 1842, calling in question the legality of some orders issued by Lord Palmerston, which authorized us to destroy the barracoons. 1,258. Those orders and the execution of them had such an effect on the slave-traders located on the coast of Africa, that they gave notice to the native chiefs that they would no longer be able to carry on the slave-trade; and they prompted the

chiefs to enter into treaties with us to allow us to destroy their barracoons, or, at any rate, to suppress the slave-trade; and, in every one of these treaties, there was a stipulation, whereby we were authorized to employ force, failing the execution of the treaty by the chief. *Most of the chiefs of Africa, in fact all the principal ones, entered into treaties with us.*

"1,261. On the appearance of Lord Aberdeen's letter, the slave-traders altered their tone very much towards the chiefs: instead of assuring them that they would never be able to bring any more goods, . . . they said, that there was a revolution in England; that the people had risen and obliged the Queen to turn out Lord Palmerston, because he wished to suppress the slave-trade; that there was now a revolution going on in England, to oblige the Queen to carry on the slave-trade, as they expressed themselves, 'all the same as they had done before.' This was believed along the whole coast, not only by the chiefs, but by the slave-traders themselves,—the people who were in the interior collecting slaves."

And there was a good deal of truth in this representation. There had been a revolution in England, brought about for the purpose of turning out Lord Palmerston and his colleagues, in which the Conservatives were supported by all the strength of the West India and pro-slavery parties. Lord Aberdeen's return to office was the signal for the revival of the trade. His despatch to General Sancho, and his letter annulling the orders issued by Lord Palmerston for destroying the barracoons, left no doubt as to a change of policy. Nor was this all. A separate treaty with the French Government, for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, drawn up agreeably to the suggestion of M. Guizot himself, had been definitely agreed upon, and awaited only the ratification of Louis Philippe, when Lord Palmerston went out of office. There was not the slightest reason, at that time, for delaying the ratification, except that given by M. Guizot, that "he was not disposed to hurry himself to humour Lord Palmerston,"—finding that the noble Viscount's successor did not sympathise in his anxiety upon the subject. Six months afterwards, the pretext was got up at Paris, that the French minister was afraid to seem to yield to the dictation of England, in ratifying a treaty proposed by himself!

Taken in connexion with the other facts, the truth of the matter is plain enough. The British Government no longer wished to press the ratification of the treaty. The Anti-slavery Committee cared nothing about it, being opposed to the "coercive principle" of the preventive service. But there were those here, who *did* care to prevent the effective suppression of the slave-trade with the concurrence of France;—the same parties that suggested doubts about the legality of destroying the barracoons;—the parties that raised the cry against Lord Palmerston as a warlike minister, who, to gratify his philanthropic crotchetts, would involve us in hostilities with France, Spain, and Brazil;—parties, some of them now sitting upon the Government benches, and passing for Liberals, but combined with others, Conservatives and Peelites, of the class represented by the assailant of Lord Denman, in the *Morning Chronicle*, who thinks, that "to place the traffic in slaves in the same category with murder and robbery, is a proof of the most stupid bigotry, or of the wildest and most wanton injustice." We ourselves heard from members of the House of Commons, at the time referred to, when M. Guizot had the Printing-house-square types at his command, language deprecatory of Lord Palmerston's anti-slavery policy, which betrayed both an ignorance of facts, and a very unfair bias. We believe that we speak the sentiments of the Anti-slavery Committee generally, when we express our conviction that his lordship has, in and out of office, given every proof of his sincere anxiety to put a stop to slavery and the slave-trade; that, upon this point, he has maintained an honourable consistency, in which he has been but ill-supported by some of his colleagues. We speak not here of his merits as foreign minister, or of his character as a statesman in other respects.

We wish not to draw an invidious comparison between Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen; honouring, as we do, the latter for some of his public acts, as well as for his private character. But we do say distinctly, that, to the non-ratification of the treaty concluded by Lord Palmerston with France, to the reversal of his orders for suppressing the slave-trade by destroying the barracoons, and to the abandonment of the claims of Great Britain, based on the slave-trade-suppression treaties,—must be ascribed the revival of the slave-trade since 1842, with all its horrors,—whatever stimulus may have been given to that trade by the alteration of the sugar duties in 1846.

To return to the memorial, from which we shall not be thought, we hope, too widely to have digressed, since it is of the utmost importance that the facts adverted to should be well understood and borne in mind. In case the Governments of Spain and Brazil should persist in mocking the just demands of this country, the Anti-slavery Committee recommend that Government should insist upon the immediate repayment, by Spain, of the £400,000, paid to her in 1817, as an indemnity for all losses she might sustain by the complete abolition of the slave-trade; and further, that Government should notify to the authorities of Spain and Brazil, that, on opening the next session of Parliament, they will be prepared to lay before the legislature a Bill for the exclusion of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil, until such time as slavery itself shall be

abolished in their colonies and territories respectively. The Committee very properly urge, that this course is "perfectly just and reasonable; that it is within the competency of Government and Parliament; and that, if it be faithfully pursued, it will accomplish the object aimed at—namely, the complete abolition of the Spanish and Brazilian slave-trade, and rescue multitudes of Africans from the degradation and sufferings of slavery, in a manner perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulations of treaties, the laws of Spain and Brazil, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom."

We will add nothing, but simply reiterate the call upon our friends to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, by addressing similar memorials to Government, and by embodying them in petitions to Parliament,—taking care to instruct their representatives as to the nature and grounds of their prayer.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM J. G. WHITTIER TO JOS. STURGE, ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES, DATED OCTOBER, 1848.

I sincerely believe now, that five years will not pass before the reproach of slavery and the slave-trade, so far as the general government of this country is concerned, will be swept away. This will be a great gain for humanity. It will redeem the suffering cause of Republicanism from the disgrace of sustaining or tolerating slavery. It will put upon the evil thing the seal of national reprobation, and it will soon die, even in the States.

If thou couldst be here now, I know it would gladden thy heart to witness the great change which has taken place. Instead of a few abolitionists here and there, as when thou wast here, the whole community is discussing the question. I am filled with thankfulness in view of this great moral revolution.

One little fact I must mention, for it is full of significance. Thou rememberest, no doubt, that some years ago, Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minister, and editor of a religious paper in St. Lewis (Missouri), was driven out of that city on account of his anti-slavery sentiments; his press was thrown into the Mississippi, and barely escaping with his life, he fled to the city of Alton, in the free State of Illinois. Here he procured a press, and was about to commence his paper, when a mob attacked him, and he was shot dead beside his press, and his murderers were unpunished. But his blood was not shed in vain. Alton is now an abolition city. Its mayor lately elected, over both the old parties, by a great majority on anti-slavery grounds; and in the slave city of St. Lewis large meetings have been held in opposition to slavery, and two papers are printed there for the discussion of the question. Is not this encouraging?

#### Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.—The following details form part of a letter written by Frederick Douglass to a Mr. Warner, editor of an American paper, who is the party referred to, as being the only one who objected to the retention of F. D.'s daughter in the school on the same terms, and with the same privileges, as the white children:—

"About the middle of August, of the present year—deeply desiring to give my daughter, a child between nine and ten years old, the advantages of a good school—and learning that 'Seward Seminary,' of this city, was an institution of that character—I applied to its principal, Miss Tracy, for the admission of my daughter into that seminary. The principal, after making suitable inquiries into the child's mental qualifications, and informing me of the price of tuition per term, agreed to receive the child into the school at the commencement of the September term. Here we parted. I went home, rejoicing that my child was about to enjoy advantages for improving her mind, and fitting her for a useful and honourable life. I supposed that the principal would be as good as her word—and was more disposed to this belief when I learned that she was an abolitionist—a woman of religious principles and integrity—and would be faithful in the performance of her promises, as she had been prompt in making them. In all this I have been grievously, if not shamefully disappointed.

"While absent from home, on a visit to Cleveland, with a view to advance the cause of education and freedom among my despised fellow-countrymen, with whom I am in all respects identified, the September term of the 'Seward Seminary' commenced, and my daughter was promptly sent to that school. But instead of receiving her into the school, according to agreement, and as in honour the principal was bound to do, she was merely thrust into a room separate from all other scholars, and in this prison-like solitary confinement received the occasional visits of a teacher appointed to instruct her. On my return home, I found her still going to school, and not knowing the character of the treatment extended to her, I asked, with a light heart, as I took her to my side, 'Well, my daughter, how do you get on at the seminary?' She answered, with tears

in her eyes, 'I get along pretty well; but, father, Miss Tracy does not allow me to go into the room with the other scholars, because I am coloured.' Stung to the heart's core by this grievous statement, and suppressing my feelings as well as I could, I went immediately to the seminary, to remonstrate with the principal against the cruelty and injustice of treating my child as a criminal, on account of her colour—subjecting her to solitary confinement, because guilty of a skin not coloured like her own. In answer to all that I could say against such treatment, I was answered by the principal, that since she promised to receive the child into school, she had consulted with the trustees (a body of persons, I believe, unknown to the public), and that they were opposed to the child's admission to the school—that she thought at first of disregarding their opposition, but when she remembered how much they had done for her in sustaining the institution, she did not feel at liberty to do so; but she thought, if I allowed her to remain and be taught separately for a term or more, that the prejudice might be overcome, and the child admitted into the school with the other young ladies and misses. At a loss to know what to do for the best interest of the child, I consulted with Mrs. Douglass and others, and the result of the consultation was, to take my child from the seminary, as allowing her to remain there, in such circumstances, could only serve to degrade her in her own eyes, and those of the other scholars attending the school. Before, however, carrying out my determination to withdraw the child from the seminary, Miss Tracy, the principal, submitted the question of the child's reception to each scholar individually, and I am sorry to say, in a manner well calculated to rouse their prejudice against her. She told them if there was one objection to receiving her, she should be excluded; and said, if any of them felt that she had a prejudice, and that that prejudice needed to be strengthened, that they might have time to whisper among themselves, in order to increase and strengthen that prejudice. To one young lady, who voted to receive the child, she said, as if in astonishment, 'Did you mean to vote so? Are you accustomed to black persons?' The young lady stood silent; the question was so extraordinary, and withal so ambiguous, that she knew not what answer to make to it. Despite, however, of the unwomanly conduct of the principal, (who, whatever may be her religious faith, has not yet learned the simplest principle of Christianity,—do to others as ye would that others should do unto you,) thanks to the uncorruptible virtue of childhood and youth, in the fulness of their affectionate hearts, they welcomed my child among them, to share with them the blessings and privileges of the school; and when asked where she should sit, if admitted, several young ladies shouted, 'By me, by me, by me.' After this manifestation of sentiment on the part of the scholars, one would have supposed that all opposition on the part of the principal would have ceased, but this was not the case. The child's admission was subjected to a severer test. Each scholar was then told by the principal, that the question must be submitted to their parents; that if one parent objected, the child would not be received into the school. The next morning, my child went to school as usual, but returned with her books and other materials, saying, that one person objected, and that she was therefore excluded from the seminary.

**SHALL WE HAVE SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA?**—This is the heading of a long article which appears in the *California Star*. We can only allude to it now by saying, that it is bold, decided, and uncompromising in its opposition to the introduction of slavery into California. The writer says that there is not a slave in California, and the power of the Home Government is inadequate to their introduction into that territory. "Those who attempt to transfer their slaves from the East to the West of the Rocky Mountains, will meet with the inevitable loss of their property. They might as well attempt to remove them to New England or to Canada." It is said, "that the simple recognition of slavery here would be looked upon as a greater misfortune to the territory than though California had remained in its former state." It declares that neither the soil, the climate, nor the productions of California, are suited to slave-labour; and that they could not be held in bondage there. It says that Congress has no right to bequeath such a calamity to the country, contrary to the wishes of the people.—*Baltimore Sun*.

**BLOCKADE OF AFRICA.**—We are interested in this country to know how the allied blockade of the coast of Africa prospers, as we pay more than a million of dollars annually for our share of the expenses. Since the Brazilians have adopted steam slavers, they are doing a profitable business, and the blockading squadron in vain attempts to overhaul them. Complaints are made in England of the hardships of the service on that coast. Most of the labour and the risk are from the boat-service being compelled to cross the bars formed by the alluvial deposits at the mouths of the rivers. The utmost skill is often insufficient to prevent the boats from swamping in these expeditions, as the surf is sometimes so violent as to baffle the hardiest swimmers, and the sharks are so numerous and vigilant as to give the swimmers no chance at all. Deaths from drowning and devouring constitute a large portion of the returns; but from the diseases of the climate they are frightful. A return to Parliament has been recently made, of the average mortality during twenty-one years on the various English naval stations, calculated upon one thousand of the

mean force employed. South America, 7.7; Mediterranean, 9.3; Home, 9.8; East Indies, 15.4; West Indies, 18.4; Coast of Africa, 58.4. We thus see, at once, what a terrible service it must be on the African coast. An attempt was made, as far back as 1826, to make a settlement on the island of Fernando Po, which had all the appearance of a garden of Eden. Thirty mechanics landed in 1827, and cleared a mile of land. In 1829 only five remained. The man-of-war, *Eden*, at that island and on the coast, lost, in seven months, 110 men out of 160. In June, 1829, fifty-eight marines and mechanics, including women, landed, and in the following October, only four had escaped. Providence seems to have surrounded Africa and the neighbouring islands with a climate fatal to the white man. In eighteen months the *Devastation* steamer lost two commanders. Thus far we must admit that our small squadron has been fortunate in having lost but few men; our cruising ground may be a more healthy region, and we may be more cautious in preserving the health of our crews. The last capture made by the British was the *Pensamento*, a Brazilian vessel, and there were some facts in relation to the chase which are not satisfactory, and ought to be known. She had 500 slaves on board, stowed under the hatches, and was a remarkably fast-sailing schooner. The *Dolphin* chased her for twelve hours, and whenever she could come in range of the slaver, would let drive at her with a thirty-two pounder, and out of fifty shots, forty-seven told. The slave schooner used every art to disguise her appearance and calling, but every shot that struck her would be succeeded by a shriek which told the sad tale. Firing into a vessel filled with human creatures, cutting them to pieces with grape and canister, for the purpose of protecting them, is an outrage on the humanity supposed to be the basis of this blockade. Besides, a 32-pound shot might sink the ship and all on board, and finish the business at once. This is more barbarous than the slave-trade itself, and our Government should institute an inquiry into the practice. We hazard the lives of the officers and crew of our vessels on that station; we expend a large sum annually to prevent slaves being carried out of Africa, but if the slavers escape our vessels of war, outsail them, or are more fleet, let them go. We deny the right, justice, and humanity of firing shot after shot into a vessel filled with unfortunate human beings.—*Star, U. S.*

### Colonial Intelligence.

**JAMAICA.—TREATMENT OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.**—In addition to the particulars given in our last number, we have, through the correspondent of the *Nonconformist*, received information on other points which came out in evidence, which we subjoin:—

"In further explanation, it was shown that each headman received his wages out of the Africans' earnings, his employment being considered an expense arising from their apprenticeship, which apprenticeship was for a period of three years. It was also shown that two of the best of the Africans could only do the work of one creole labourer, and that the majority could literally do next to nothing. Their wages were called ninepence per day, subject to a deduction of one-half for the expenses of their keep: but the *day's labour* was regulated solely by the caprice of the master—not by time, but by *quantity performed*. It was thus evident that 'a day's labour' might require an indefinite length of time for its performance by an apprentice.

"After the examinations were closed, Mr. Lowndes stated that he *had only taken the people—there was no regular agreement—there were no indentures!* Yet some of them had been with him from the commencement of the year, and a second party had been received in the month of August. To me he stated that it was only by such means he could make anything of the estate. When I inquired 'what he would do when the period for which these Africans were to be apprenticed, had expired?' he replied, 'Get more!' 'But when that has elapsed, what then?' 'Why, I must get more.' I said, 'Do you expect that in this way the cultivation of the island can be carried on?' to which he replied, that 'so it must; for there was no other way.' You will, therefore, have to prepare the British public, either for voting away some £500,000 every three years, for the purposes of immigration to the West Indies, or else for pensioning off, at so much per annum, the whole array of planters. The latter, in addition to its being decidedly *the cheapest method*, would have this recommendation, that it would *save British character*, and prevent an incalculable amount of injustice and cruelty at the same time!

"His Excellency, Sir Charles Grey, has brought the House of Assembly round himself like a swarm of maddened hornets; but his dignified equanimity, whilst it serves as a coat of mail to himself, makes them buzz and bounce, and show their useless stings, to the amusement of all beholders. His Excellency not only resists their laws against the labourer's liberty to change his residence (*called 'laws against vagrancy'*)—and their law for compulsory education, and their law for apprenticing Africans *absolutely*, but has given utterance to his conviction that there are those in that island who would gladly restore some gradations of slavery. For such conduct he is insulted almost to the utmost bounds of indecency. Scarcely would one of your low *beer-shops* supply such epithets

for a representative of her Majesty, as the Honourable House of Assembly has found for the Governor of Jamaica! Circumstances would teach us to expect that, before long, the House will, if possible, pass a resolution expressing 'want of confidence,' and requesting the Home Government to recall Sir Charles. Should this be effected, we shall, without doubt, witness such a demonstration in his favour from the people as will awaken some oppressors to the fatuity by which others are blinded. Too long has Jamaica suffered from the conduct of Governors who had left their eyes, and ears, and hearts at home, lightly to see one driven away, because he has happened to bring such qualifications for his office with him."

Mr. Cornford, who first drew public attention to the treatment of these poor Africans, in a communication to the *Messenger*, makes the following remarks, which are deemed worthy of serious consideration:—

"One most important end will, I trust, now be secured; I mean the vesting of some power in the magistracy for cancelling the indentures of African immigrants, upon proof of ill-treatment from their employers. Against this the planters will, no doubt, use all their influence; if we may not gather, from His Excellency's reply to the House of Assembly on the 26th ultimo, that they have done so already. But if their opposition should be ineffectual, then will the ministers of the gospel throughout the island be ready, on all necessary occasions, 'to open their mouths for the dumb.' African immigration will be as really doomed as the German, Scotch, Irish, Coolie, or any other equally cruel and nefarious scheme. For, believe me, there are few among the favourers of African immigration who do not recognize the necessity of 'switches,' and defend their opinions by reference to the schools of civilized societies, and the merciless treatment to which boys are sometimes subjected in the course of their apprenticeships. Indeed, it is openly argued that it is utterly impossible, without the liberty to use corporeal punishments, to bring wild people from their haunts of idleness, in their native land, and train them in this country to a measure of remunerating industry. Sir, I firmly believe in this impossibility. And I as firmly believe that if planters are restrained from inflicting corporeal punishments they will utterly and for ever renounce the idea of African immigration, as being fraught with the most rapid and resistless ruin."

**FURTHER CASES OF ILL-TREATMENT.**—"Eleven female African immigrants appeared at the police office to prefer complaints against a person named Young, which one of them, who speaks English tolerably well, stated to be the overseer of Constant Spring Estate, in St. Andrew, the property of Messrs. Porteous and Carson. On being asked what was the nature of her complaint, she said that Mr. Young was not good, that he had flogged them all. She was then told that could not be true, for that she, at any rate, only appeared to have had one stripe on her shoulder. She replied, placing her hand on the spot, that she had been flogged below her back, and beneath her clothes. They also exhibited some rice and wheat flour, of which they complained; but, though the latter may be exceptionable, the former appeared good. This case was not heard by the stipendiary magistrate, and they seemed determined to remain in town for that purpose."—*Falmouth Post, Jamaica, September 22, 1848.*

**BRITISH GUIANA.**—The state of this colony at the present time is most critical. The dispute between the Government and the Combined Court, on the question of reducing the Civil List, has at length reached the crisis anticipated. In spite of the Government, a majority have voted for the reduction. One of the members handed in the reasons of the majority of the Court for so voting, to be recorded on the minutes, which we append.

"We, the undersigned elective members of the Combined Court, desire to place on its minutes our reasons for having refused to vote for the continuance of the Civil List, as placed on the estimate by his Excellency the Governor—

"1st. Because the general distress prevailing throughout the Colony is so great, that it is utterly unable to continue the present rate of expenditure.

"2nd. Because this distress has not been produced by the ordinary fluctuations of commerce, but by the acts of her Majesty's Government.

"3rd. Because, at the time the said Civil List was renewed, the Colonial Legislature considered that the faith of her Majesty's Government and of the Imperial Parliament was pledged to the exclusion of sugar produced by slave-labour, and they never contemplated the possibility of that faith being broken.

"4th. Because the compact, for the renewal of the Civil List, having been violated by her Majesty's Government, is no longer binding on the colonists; and it is both unjust and unreasonable to expect the colony to maintain the compact, when, by its violation on the part of her Majesty's Government, the resources of the colony have been so grievously curtailed.—William Davison, Charles Conyers, Peter Rose, James Stuart, John Jones, Thomas Porter, jun., J. Gordon, A. Duff, F. R., Peter M. Watson.

"25th September, 1848."

The *Royal Gazette* of October 19th, in its review for home readers, gives the following view of the existing state of things:—"During the last fortnight, there has been a thorough inactivity—a dead calm—in all

public matters. Not a symptom has been evinced of a reconciliation being about to take place between the Combined Court and the Government. In the meantime, the colony is in a state of the greatest uncertainty and danger. No taxes, except a few of the most insignificant description, not dependent on annual votes of the Combined Court, and therefore leviable by the Executive, are being raised. No public officers, except those on the Civil List, and no public contractors have been paid their dues. Cargoes of foreign merchandise are being landed day after day, and the loss which the revenue will sustain, in consequence of the ordinary duties not being exacted, will be incalculable, if the present state of things be permitted to continue a few weeks longer. Not only will immediate wants of consumers be supplied, but a stock of foreign merchandise, in articles that are not deteriorated by time, will be laid in by importers, which, when taxation comes to be resumed, will affect our Customs' Duties most seriously for years. It is a most untoward and a most unfortunate calamity that matters should have been brought to the pass at which we see them. Nothing that the wit and malice of man could have devised, could have been more calculated to seal the ruin of the colony, than this ill-timed disagreement between our legislative authorities and the Colonial Secretary. We need scarcely say, after this, that no meeting of the Combined Court has been held since our last; nor is it supposed, in some quarters, that that assembly will ever meet again. It must have roused the anger of the Colonial office too deeply to be easily forgiven, and it would not be an astonishing event should the *flat* have gone forth for its entire annihilation. One thing is perfectly clear. Something must speedily be done, or all government will be at an end. A country that collects no revenue cannot afford to support institutions for the security of society.

"Beyond these few remarks, we have nothing to say on political matters. Those awaiting 'a heavy blow and great discouragement,' are not disposed to be loquacious.

"The reader of our files will find recorded therein, the last half-yearly returns of the Georgetown Public Hospitals. The liberal manner in which these establishments have hitherto been supported, reflects great credit on the colony. How they are to go on, however, under the present severe monetary pressure, and stoppage of supplies, baffles conjecture. As the public hospitals are purely local establishments, and as the expenses incidental to their management constitute no claim whatever on the Civil List, it is manifest that, according to Earl Grey's despatch, such expenses must be incurred at the risk of contractors and others. The question is, will such parties continue giving credit to the colony? The police, the gaols, the penal settlement, and other highly important institutions, the expenditure connected with which is very heavy, are in the same predicament as the hospitals. No mention, whatever, is made of them, or of any officers connected with them, in the Civil List. This observation must show the home reader, more forcibly than any mere declamation we might indulge in, the exceedingly critical and perilous situation in which the colony has been placed. However, to the hospitals. The last returns, from the 1st January to the 30th June, show that during that period, no less than 3,809 patients were admitted into those valuable establishments; 409 died during the six months, and 314 remained in the wards on the 30th June. It is remarkable, that, though there is happily no disparity of the sexes here, and consequently none of the evils resulting from disparity in that respect, as in Mauritius, of the 409 patients who died, 329 were males, and 80 only females."

**COURT OF POLICY, SEPT. 19TH.—AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO THE COAST OF AFRICA.**—A despatch from the Colonial Secretary was read in reference to the Report of the Committee of the elective section of the Court of Policy, which had been refused a place on the minutes, although transmitted to the Colonial Secretary by Governor Light. The Secretary of State alluded to the statement of the committee, that African immigration had turned out a failure, and that it would continue to be so, unless the restrictions under which it was carried on were removed. The Government were desirous of removing all restrictions which operated to render immigration unsuccessful; but the complaint of the committee was of so general a nature as to leave the Government in ignorance with regard to the restrictions to which they alluded. They were, therefore, requested to specify those restrictions.

Mr. Rose—All restrictions.

Mr. Stuart—They were called upon, and it would be their own fault if they did not state what they meant. It was not a difficult matter for them to specify the restrictions.

Governor—Would the committee report?

Mr. Rose did not think his Excellency would get any committee to report again.

Government Secretary—What was required was only an explanation from the committee; they had already reported.

Mr. Stuart—That explanation could very easily be given.

Mr. Jones—Certainly, they ought to explain, as they had been called upon.

Mr. Stuart quite agreed with the hon. member; and, therefore, he would move that the Court should not adjourn until a committee had

been appointed for the purpose. He was convinced that so long as the restrictions to which they referred were suffered to remain, immigration would be a failure. His lordship knew that so long as they were restricted to Sierra Leone, they would not succeed in obtaining immigrants. Every witness examined before the committee of the House of Commons had testified to that fact.

Governor—The report in question had already been alluded to by Earl Grey.

Mr. Stuart—Yes; he said it was very properly sent to him by Sir Henry Light with the minutes. Now, if it was properly sent home, he (Mr. Stuart) could not see why it should not be put upon the minutes.

The Attorney-General made a remark which did not reach us.

Governor—They would not discuss that matter. The despatch was before the Court, and it was a matter for the elective section to express their opinion upon.

It was agreed that the former committee should draw up the report in explanation.

**CONSTRAINED AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.**—Another despatch from the Secretary of State acknowledged Governor Light's despatch reporting the arrival of the *Cornelia*, with immigrants from Sierra Leone. This despatch had been laid by the Secretary of State before the Commissioners, and their reply was transmitted. There were three points noticed by them. First, the large proportion of children in the batch. Secondly, the great mortality that had occurred amongst them. And thirdly, the conduct of the surgeon, in refusing to remain on board till the immigrants were landed. With respect to the first, they attributed it to the circumstance of there being few adult people in the African yard willing to emigrate. They hoped, in the second place, that the regulations of the Secretary of State, with respect to the health of immigrants, were being carried out successfully; and, to remedy the third evil complained of, they transmitted a new set of instructions for surgeons of immigrant vessels.

Mr. Stuart—There were few immigrants willing to emigrate! The agreement of the Government was that all captured Africans should be sent to the West Indies, without waiting for their own consent. If they were not sent out immediately, but kept in the African yard, the mortality would always be great. The rule should be laid down, that all captured Africans should be sent out to the colonies as soon as possible.

Mr. Porter—It was the opinion of the Government themselves, that the condition of the African was benefited by being sent to the West Indies; and, therefore, it was a mere farce to ask them if they were willing to come.

Mr. Rose—if it were made to depend upon their consent, not one of them would come. The people in Sierra Leone could easily persuade them that by going on board of the immigrant vessels they would be enslaved again.

Mr. Stuart—And those people had an interest in keeping them there. It was the interest of every person in Sierra Leone. If he (Mr. Stuart) were a merchant in Sierra Leone, it would be his interest.

Mr. Rose—The fact was, they were so unwilling to come, that they commonly leaped out of the boats into the sea, at the risk of their lives.

Mr. Gordon had heard of their squatting on Government lands in Sierra Leone. There could be no proper regulations in the colony, if they were allowed to do that. If the Government really wished the people to emigrate to the West Indies, why not adopt wholesome regulations to prevent them from occupying lands which did not belong to them.

**COOLIE IMMIGRANTS.—THEIR INEFFICIENCY AND TREATMENT.**—A further despatch enclosed a correspondence between the Immigration Commissioners and Captain Wilson, the agent at Madras, with certain complaints which had been made of the ineffective description of the majority of the immigrants sent to this colony by the ships *Morley* and *Candahar*. Captain Wilson declared that the immigrants sent in those ships were of a better class than any which had been sent to Mauritius while immigration to that place was carried on.

Mr. Rose—The explanation of Captain Wilson might be very satisfactory to the Colonial Secretary, but it was not so to the colonists.

Mr. Porter knew that there was a very great proportion of inefficient people sent to this colony.

Mr. Stuart—They had only to look at those who were walking about the town to be convinced of that fact.—There could be no excuse for sending old people who could not work.

Mr. Porter—The majority of the Madras people were never accustomed to labour of any description, especially agricultural labour; but the Calcutta people were generally very efficient.

Order—The explanations of Captain Wilson were, in the opinion of the Court, far from being satisfactory.

A report of the Immigration Agent-General, on the petition of a Coolie immigrant for a return passage, was read. The reporter acknowledged that the man had been cruelly deceived in being persuaded to come to this colony; but there were several others in his situation, who would be ready to take advantage of any precedent established in his case. A large number of the people brought to the colony were totally unaccustomed to

agricultural labour, and therefore perfectly useless. In their own country trades were hereditary, and they could not be induced to relinquish those which had descended to them for generations, and work in the field.

Mr. Stuart—The Immigration Agent had enumerated several occupations which had descended to the immigrants for generations; but he had said nothing of the caste of beggars.—(A laugh.)

Governor—There was such a caste.

Mr. Stuart—And the members of it would do nothing but beg. When they were called upon to work, they replied, “that they could not; their fathers before them had begged, and they could do nothing else.” Above all, they were the most accomplished liars and thieves in the world.

**BERBICE.**—We are told by the *Royal Gazette*, that the greatest curse of this colony is the want of unanimity among the planters as a body; and, although we must confess that there is some truth in the remark, we cannot allow it to go forth entirely unquestioned. We admit it to be quite true that there is a vast deal too much competition and jealousy among the planters, and that it is also unfortunately too true, that a great many of them would allow the labourers to reap the greatest share of advantage from a protective duty, if they had it. But one fact is worth a hundred mere speculations on such a matter, and we think we can now bring forward a fact, that will prove that free trade is the cause of the planter's distress and ruin, and that the want of unanimity, although most mischievous, is not the chief source of his troubles. We know it to be true, that a certain sugar estate in this country cleared, in the year 1845, £4,000 sterling, of a nett profit, on a crop of 450 hds. of sugar. And it is also true, that this same sugar estate, making this year a crop of 700 hds. sugar, will not clear one farthing. And the cost per hogshead of producing the present year's crop is very considerably less than in producing that of 1845. In our humble opinion, therefore, the cause of the distress and ruin of the planter is the act of the British Government, by which the nett value of his produce is reduced from a price that yielded him a fair profit on his capital, to one that leaves him a loser in spite of his utmost skill, care, and economy.—*Berbice Gazette*, Sept. 4.

**TRINIDAD.—ADVOCACY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE BY MR. BURNLEY, AND THE PORT OF SPAIN GAZETTE.**—Those who are at all acquainted with the past career of the honourable Mr. Burnley, and the *Port of Spain Gazette*, will not wonder that the one should propose and the other plead for a renewal of the slave-trade between Trinidad and the coast of Africa. Although we wonder not at their conduct, yet we feel it to be a sort of national disgrace that such a base-born desire should not only be cherished, but unblushingly avowed by British subjects in the year 1848. Mr. Burnley recommends and urges the “purchase of Africans on the coast, as has been done for ages, and then emancipate them in our colonies.” And the emancipation for which he pleads is thus indicated by him, “that they should not be considered as citizens or entitled to the full privileges of British laws until the next generation, until some education in school and church might enable them to understand and exercise them; and on no account should they be allowed to leave the district in which they were first located, but by permission of the Government.” Mr. Burnley's scheme does not deserve to be dignified by the epithet *hypocritical*—it is a piece of unblurred and blatant injustice, cruelty and villainy, and demands the reiterated reprobation of every man possessed of the least lingering of humanity, a stranger though he be to piety and principle. The man that buys his fellows under pretence of giving them freedom, but, in fact, and of aforesight, to plunge them into deeper and more degrading and destructive slavery, deserves the pity, the weeping compassion, and the heartiest execration of all right-hearted men. Such would be Mr. Burnley's reward if his fiendish scheme were carried into execution; which Heaven forbid it ever should.

Mr. Burnley pleads for the purchase, and importation to Trinidad, of African slaves, “in the name of humanity, of justice, and of religion.” Never before did man so insolently “borrow the livery of Heaven to serve the Devil in,” as the honourable Mr. Burnley has done in this instance. “Humanity! justice!! religion!!!”—would that we could guard them against desecration. Mr. Burnley seems to think that Africans would be advanced next door to bliss, if privileged to occupy the place of slaves in Trinidad. He says, or insinuates, that they would receive some education “in school and church.” We ask, with the mingled feelings of regret, compassion, and indignation, what has Mr. Burnley, or his honourable compeers in power, or the planters, done for schools or churches, except at the public cost? The inevitable answer is—nothing. Mr. Burnley is one of the oldest and largest proprietors in the colony, and we will give fifteen bits for every dollar that he has expended on the education of African slaves and immigrants. We have never heard of a school endowed or instituted by him, and he has owned and controlled, for forty years, thousands of helpless and ignorant Africans. And this is the man that pleads for the purchase of African slaves, that that they may be instructed in Trinidad!!! But, by the way of apology, it may be asked, what proprietor in the island has acted better or otherwise than Mr. Burnley? All lie under the same damning condemnation. The proprietors of Trinidad have done nothing for the mental and social

improvement of the people, which once pertained to them, and have latterly been dependent on them. The schools and churches instituted and supported by Government in Trinidad are an absolute mockery.—*Trinidadian*, Sept. 20.

**ST. VINCENT.—THE LABOURERS.**—We understand his Excellency intends to go this week to leeward to address the labourers. To windward there appears little prospect of the villagers returning to work—though those resident on estates, who have struck, are expected to resume work this week at the previous rate of wages. The policy of the planters appears unaccountable. The last six weeks have been a period of wanton, needless irritation. If the estates could not be carried on to advantage with wages at the previous rate, then it was the duty of the planters, having taken the step, either to have carried their point or made a compromise. If, on the other hand, they knew that either they could not carry their point, or that the previous rate could be afforded, then they were acting a very improper part in trying to reduce them at all—thus creating a needless excitement. We are afraid that the planters of this island are about to enter again into an insane competition among themselves, which will end in the ruin of both proprietor and labourer. We hear that some parties to windward are offering to their people, in addition to wages, as much rum and molasses as they can consume, or money in lieu. Such a line of conduct would be as pernicious as illegal, and ought to be at once denounced.—*New Era*.

His Excellency's visits during the past week, says the *Era* of a later date, so far as relates to the return to work, have been productive of no benefits. That he has been kindly received, and welcomed, and cheerfully listened to by the labourers, is an evidence that the people are not unwilling to be convinced, nor indifferent to the advice of those who take an interest in their welfare.

**MARTINIQUE.—DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—SUPPLY OF LABOUR—EMIGRATION, &c.**—This Commission, appointed by a decree of the 14th March, to prepare the act of immediate abolition of slavery, has just been dissolved, by order of the president of the Council, the chief of the Executive, published in the *Moniteur*.

On this subject the Committee has presented to the minister of the marine and the colonies a report, in which it offers, for the consideration of the Government, a draft of a decree on the establishment of Savings' Banks in the colonies, and on the immigration of free labourers.

As to immigration, says the *West Indian*, we believe it to be a fruitful and useful subject of inquiry, but the conditions suggested by M. Schaelcher are of a character to raise a serious controversy. The possibility of employing Europeans in agricultural labour within the tropics, has always been a disputed point, upon which persons of the most competent judgment are divided in opinion.

#### REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF MARINE AND OF THE COLONIES.

Paris, 25th of July, 1848.

**Citizen Minister,—**The Commission for the abolition of slavery, re-organized by the resolution of the 10th June, has terminated its labours for which the Executive Commission continued its appointment; and, before separating, it submits the results for your consideration.

Two questions remained to be treated of,—the establishment of Savings' Banks, and the immigration of free labourers to the colonies.

The Provisional Government had adopted, by a decree of the 27th April, the principle of the establishment of Savings' Banks in the colonies. It remained only to frame regulations for the purpose of carrying it into effect. This is the object we have in view in the draft of a resolution, which we submit to you, together with the enactments relative to the organization of these establishments in each colony.

The question of immigration necessarily occupied the more anxious attention of the Committee; and upon this point also, it calls for your earnest consideration. A well-understood and well-directed immigration will serve to maintain and revive labour in our colonies, by restoring to it the hands which emancipation may take from it, in the first moments of the crisis. But for the purpose of supplying the colonies with labourers, the Committee has no desire to renew the slave-trade in disguise. It has, therefore, excluded the coast of Africa in general, from amongst the sources from which a supply of labour should be derived. Africa, where the slave-trade is still carried on, appears, to a majority of the Committee, a country too much under suspicion to offer free emigrants. It would not remove the prohibition from these shores, except in Senegal and Goree, where we have establishments competent to keep a closer watch over this kind of contracts, and to ascertain their real cause and character. It would make another exception in favour of the free inhabitants of Abyssinia, guaranteed by the appointment of an agent to control these engagements.

The same measures of precaution should be observed with regard to

Asia. But it is especially from Europe that the Committee would look for a supply of labourers. In this way it sees a means of carrying off the surplus of European population, to make up the deficiency appearing in the colonies. The good effects which would accrue from it, both to the colonies and the mother country, would turn also to the advantage of the immigrants themselves. For the Committee is convinced, that with precautions which might be easily taken, by wholesome diet, and a suitable division of the periods of labour, the climate of the colonies has nothing in it to forbid the modes of agriculture pursued in our own climate.

The Committee directs your particular attention, citizen minister, to the conditions which this supply of labourers seems to require. It is of opinion, that in such a case, the State cannot wholly rely upon the regulations which the civil code imposes for contracts of an ordinary nature.

The code fixes equal rules for parties who treat on a footing of equality. But if one of them is, of necessity, in a worse position than the other, the law will not suffer him to be injured on that account. Hence the special provisions made to protect the interests of minors. In contracts of immigration, the emigrant is in truth a minor, when compared with the person who contracts for his services. He engages himself to go to a country, of which he knows nothing; and he undertakes to perform a kind of labour, of which he can form no just idea, either of the exertion it requires, or of its influence upon his health. Under such circumstances, it seems fit that the State should look to the terms of his first engagement; should fix a reasonable limit to its duration, as well as general regulations concerning his conveyance on board of ship, and settlement on his arrival: that it should not even then abandon him, but should determine, within fixed limits, the hours of labour, and should provide, in case of a cancelling of the contract, for his reconveyance to his native country.

These obligations the State can enforce with so much the more authority, as it contributes to the expense of immigration; although the circumstances do not appear to the Committee absolutely necessary to authorize its interference. The State is the natural protector of the weak, and there are measures which it has the right, as well as its duty to prescribe, in order that the contracting parties might not act in opposition to the interests of the public. Now, although it might appear that immigration ought to be carried on at the expense of those who derive the benefit of it in the cultivation of land in the colonies, yet the Committee are of opinion that the interests of the public are so seriously involved in the question, as to justify the assistance of the State. It is required for the maintenance and the development of labour; for the safety and prosperity of our foreign establishments; for the future support of those families which, unable to obtain work, and necessitous in Europe, may proceed to the colonies, and become in the number of the producing and consuming classes.

The Committee confines itself to an explanation of the principles which have guided it, in examining this important question; it leaves to your zeal for the interest of the colonies, the care of reducing its recommendations into form, and of submitting them, when it shall be convenient, for the legislative sanction.

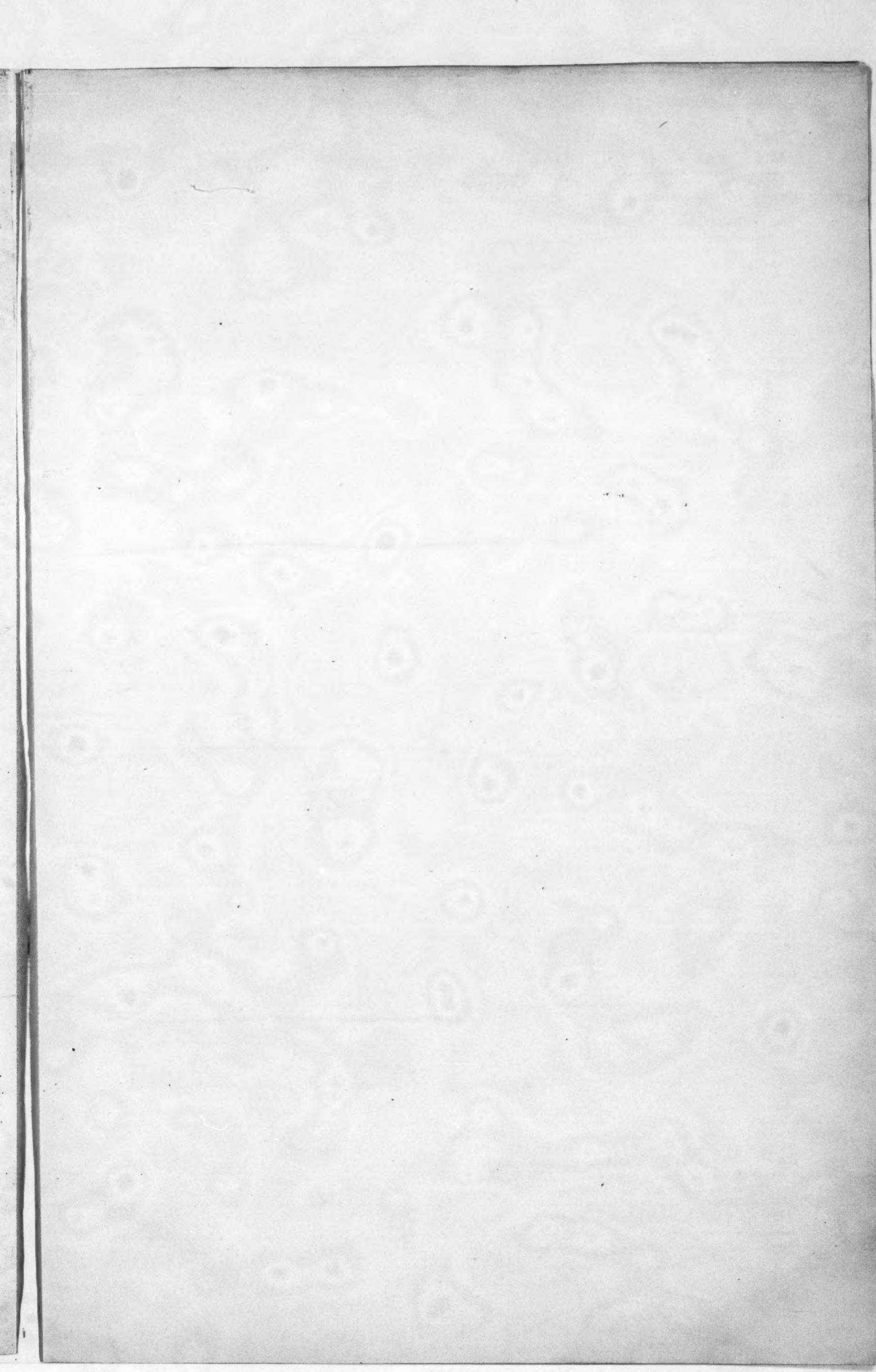
Nothing further remains for it, but to replace in your hands the powers with which it was invested by the first minister of the Republic for the department of the marine. In retiring, it feels conscious of the faithful discharge of the duties imposed upon it. The Provisional Government, after having proclaimed the Republic, established, by the decree of the 4th of March, the principle of the immediate abolition of slavery; and public opinion, the assent even of the Chambers of Commerce, acknowledged this declaration to be the natural and necessary consequence of the proclamation of the Republic. Whilst preparing, according to the terms of this decree, the act of emancipation, the Committee has been desirous of surrounding it with every measure that is capable of rendering its application more advantageous to the general interest of society in the colonies, without distinction of class or descent. The last resolutions it submits to you are a new evidence of the spirit with which it has been constantly animated.

V. SCHÄLCHER, President.

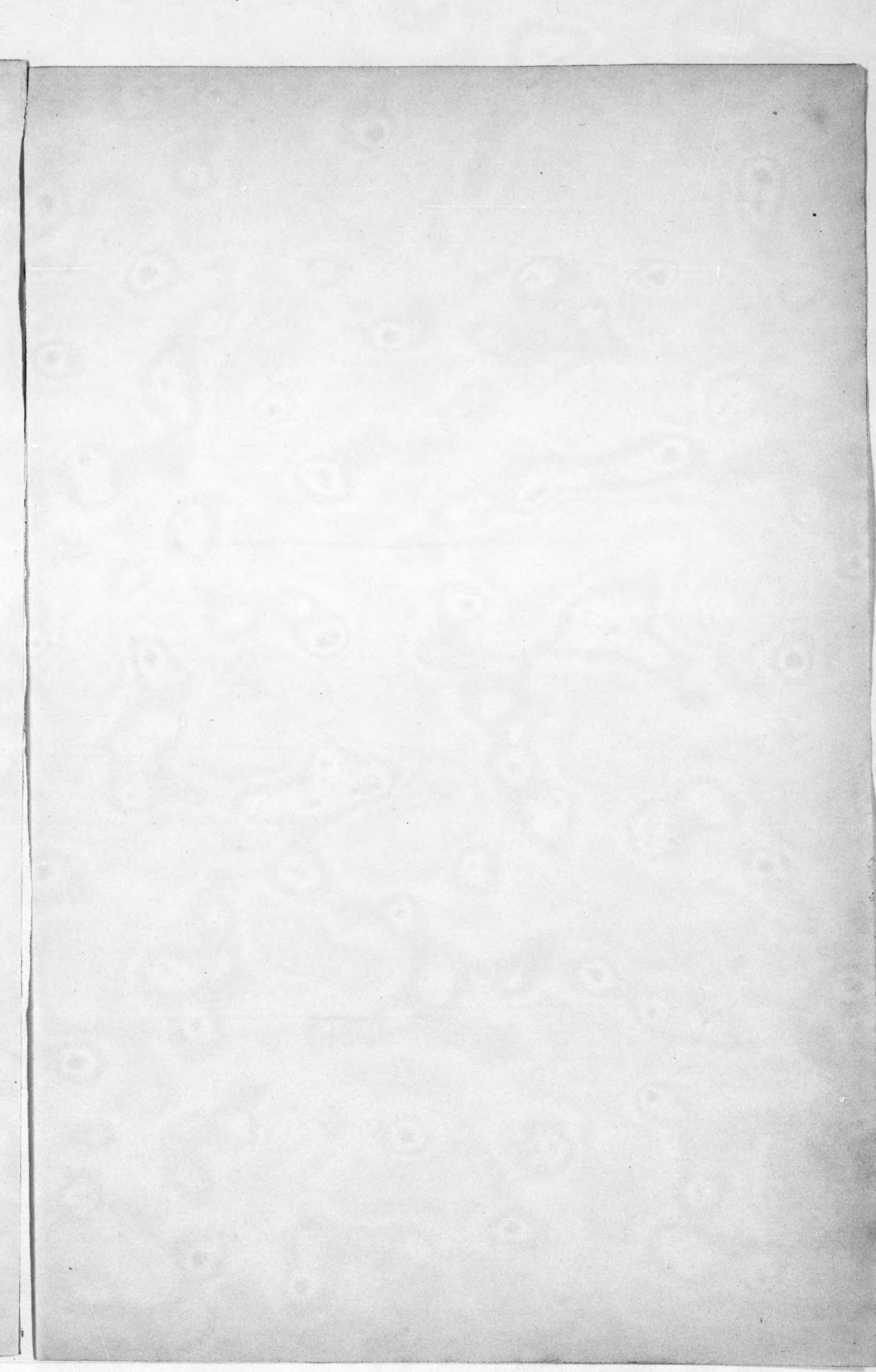
H. WALLON, Secretary.

**PORTE RICO.**—A French schooner, having several passengers on board, passed this on Tuesday, on her way to Martinique from Govinio, Porto Rico. Some of the passengers landed and gave a dreadful account of the state of alarm existing throughout Porto Rico—the people are every moment in the expectation that the slaves will revolt, and commence an indiscriminate slaughter of the free inhabitants. The militia and regular troops are constantly on duty, and all intercourse with the island is prohibited as much as possible. The boats of the above vessel were not allowed to communicate with the land.

The Spaniards fear the slaves will receive assistance from the Haytians, who have threatened to make a descent on Porto Rico.—*Dominica Colonist*.



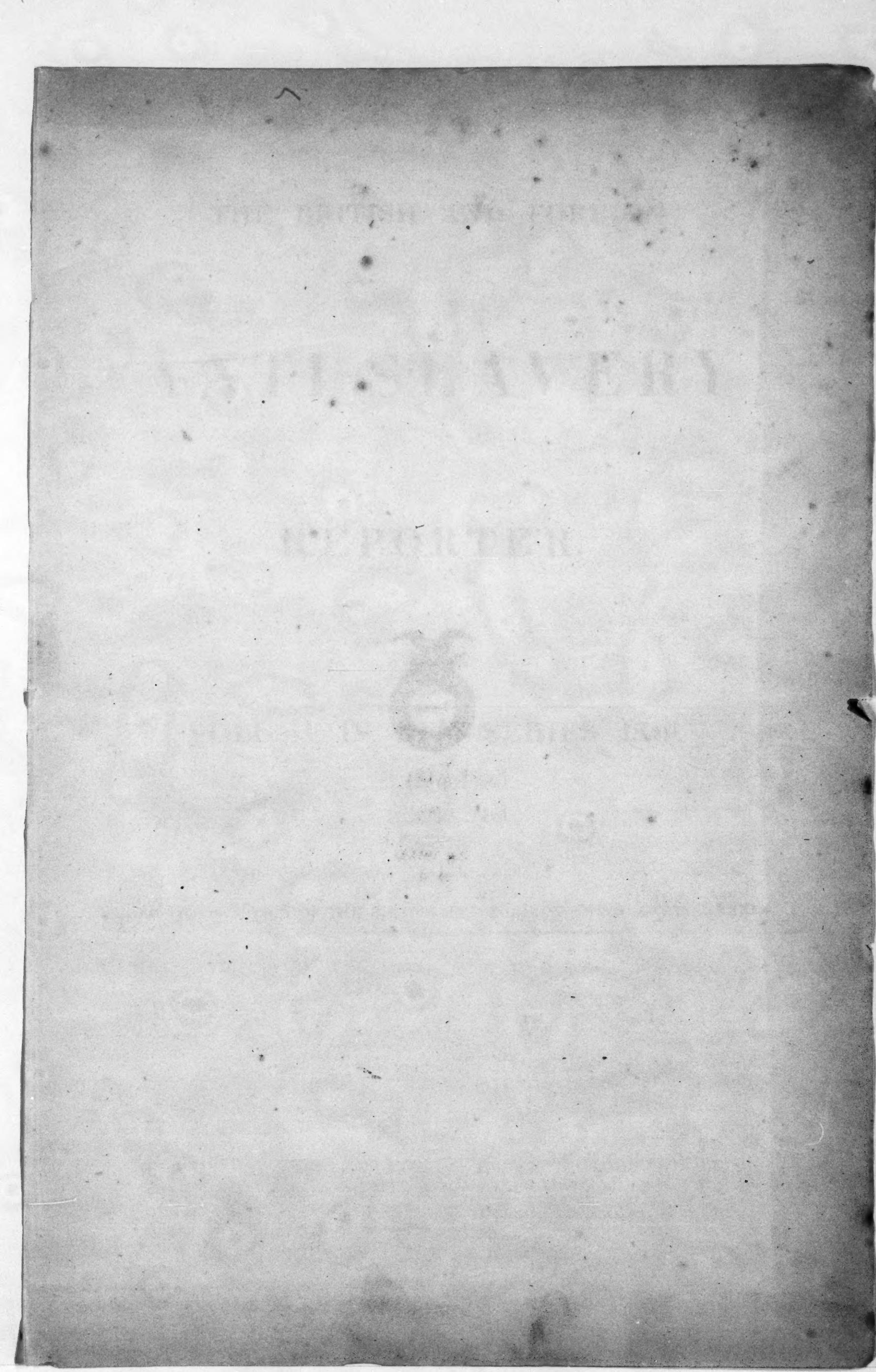












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